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Queen Elizabeth and her times

Thomas Wright

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from the Original Painting by Lucchese,
in the Possession of
The Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury

Published by Henry Colburn, 15, St. Martin's Lane, London.
 1838.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

AND

HER TIMES,

A SERIES OF ORIGINAL LETTERS,

SELECTED FROM THE INEDITED

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY, THE EARL OF LEICESTER,

THE SECRETARIES WALSINGHAM AND SMITH,

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON,

AND

MOST OF THE DISTINGUISHED PERSONS OF THE PERIOD.

EDITED BY

THOMAS WRIGHT, M. A. F. S. A. &c.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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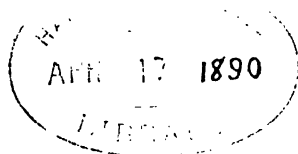
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


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From the original in the possession of the Most Noble The Marquis of Salisbury.

Thomas  Margaret filia et heres
 Gilberti de Wynton.
 Thomas  Margaret
 Gilberti
 wedded Margaret daughter
 and heres of Gilbert of
 Wynton and had by her
 Phillip Gilbert and David
 Phillip  Margaret filia Johis
 Phillips

William Siret
 Margaret Siret
 John Siret
 David Siret
 James or Henryne
 Siret

OWN HAND WRITING.

1541

OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TC

well beloved Ma

Philip & Susan
 wedded Margaret Esq.
 daughter of John Phillips
 and had by her seven
 John and Margaret.
 Margaret
 Richard
 Philip
 Margaret
 John
 David
 James
 Richard Esq.
 or Esq. wedded Margaret
 Esq. daughter of Philip
 Esq. and had
 by her 7

Philip & Susan
 wedded Margaret Esq.
 daughter of John Phillips
 and had by her seven
 John and Margaret.

ORD BURGHLEY, WITH THE NAME CORRECTED IN HIS

sailor William Baron of Burle
 Barth

William Sitter
Margaret Sitter
John Sitter
David Sitter
James or Jacobus
Sitter

Here with y^e old man in behnd

The contrary of y^e byre in y^e
"field" of "horses" made
as 185.

hmm 20 20
177
still
des. 100
cells. de Stanford
200 of a persons. in y^e
cellar. in y^e



Phillip Sitter

FAC SIMILE FROM A WARRANT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO

right wellbelovd son,

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

YOUR Lordship have good cause to marvel that I have not wrytten of any resolution for the matter of Ulster. But also what can I wryte, when I can have none with daily attending, for the most part three or four tymes in the day? It maketh me weary of my life. I see what your Lordship writeth, the tyme passing almost irrecuperable, the advantage lost, the charges contynuing, nothing resolved, and therefor, such number of thinges unanswered, whereupon her Majestie's mynisters lie still in suspense; that realme not able to be set in any form yet, the Deputye uncertayn how to rule, the foolish and unruly encouraged to contynnew ther undutifull wildnes, in hope that they shall be, by our slacknes here, set agayn at their unbridled liberty. I neither can get the other letters signed, nor the letter allredy signed, which your Lordship knoweth, permitted to be sent away, but day by day, and hour by hour, deferred till anon, sone, and to-morrow. Your Lordship hath done well and friendly for my Lord Deputye, and my Lord of Leicester told me that he hath written with

you. But what certayntie is that to my Lord Deputye? And as your Lordship thynks, it is no warrant to hym to discharge, especyally if he have any color of warrant to receive or detainne still.

This for that matter, which indeede maketh me werie of my life, to have no resolution, but still wayting and suspense for that which doth so much import her Majestie's honor, profit, and reputation. I would some other man occupied my roome, who had more credit to get things resolved, signed, and thyngs necessary resolved in tyme.

Your Lordship do well put in mynd for a successor to Sir Valentine Browne. His books of articles and answers have bene now agayn perused by commissioners, whereof I was one, and be brought to a shorter summary. But almost all the articles do stand in his deniall, and offer of prooffe by the captaines. The more they were sifted there, the more they proved so : - mary, if they be proved against hym, he wil be found in muche blame. Without prooffe manifestly made, it is no reason to condempne any man ; and that in particular, not in generall by exclamations, the proofes to be made. The commissioners had nede to be grave, wise, and of authoritie, and to heare the particularities at Berwick. Methynks he hath not done well, thus to signifie by his man Meen (?), as he hath done, for my Lords and I take May-day to be the day, and not the 25th of Marche, which is very nere.

Your Lordship seeth here Sir Jo. Foster's letter ; and I pray your Lordship send the same letter by hym to-morrow, with your Lordship's opinion in this matter. For my Lords wold have hym to appeare to morow before them for this matter, otherwise he might have tarried till Wednesday. Thus I bid your Lordship most hartely farewell. From Richmond, the 6th of March, 1574, at night.

Your Lordshipp's allwais at commandement,

T. SMITH.

DR. WILSON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

I do not cease to call upon the Commendator* for banyshment of these rebels, and especiallie synce my late coming from Brussels, but as yet they are not gone. What his meaning is, I do not knowe. Upon the returne of my servante, at what tyme I truste to make my returne, there shall not wante any solicitation for this matter, and excepte they be indeed banished before my departure, I will plainly declare the Quene's Majestie's discontentation, and breache of covenantes in the entercourse.

The Advocate Fiscal hath done bad offices, synce his returne out of Englande, declaring to the Commendator and others, that how straytely soever our nation is used in their demands, there is no feare or doubte of any breache, for the Quene's Majestie and the Counsell also (saythe he), are so desirous to lyve in peace, that they will agree to any conditions, be they never so harde, rather than they will fall out with the Kyng, giving oute that the Quene's Majestie is verie fearful, with other unmannerlie speeche of the Counsel and whole nation. He is noted here to be one of the chiefest advancers of the levying of the tenth and twentieth penye, and so devoted to the Duke of Alva, as no man more, and now seeketh credit with this Commendator to the discredit of our nation, having given lately such an answer to certayne particular demandes that I proposed for the merchauntes, as he sheweth hymselfe to be an unfytte man to deale betwixte prynces for any accorde. And sorie I am, that he

* Don Lewis Zuniga de Requesens, great Commendator of Castile, who had now succeeded the Duke of Alva in the government of the Netherlands. To conciliate Queen Elizabeth, he ordered the English rebels to quit Flanders, and dissolved the seminary at Douay, during the present year. A commendator was one who enjoyed the rents of an abbey or other benefice. Dr. Wilson was sent over as ambassador at the latter end of the preceding year.

had so much of his will at his being in England, who was commended to make an accord in any way, how bad soever it was. This I do hear, but whether it be true or no, I cannot tell. Of this I am well informed, that King Philip will not fall out with England at any hand, and hath given commandment to the Commendator to use the best means he can, to maintain amity. Upon answer from your Honors, and my despatch here, I shall better understand the uttermost of the Commendator's meaning. Our English mariners and soldiers, to the number of almost an hundred, were sent of late under the conduct of Mr. Copley,* to take a shype of warre upon the coast of Holland, whereof one Davis was captain, the same man that should have suffered at Wapping heretofore; and upon the taking of the said shype, they thought to have gone further, and taken others. But their doings were discovered, and Davis armed against their coming, with two other shippes of warre. So that our men returned to Antwerp againe, without doing any thing at all, who, as I can perceive, would gladly be at home, they are so evil paid, and make so little gain here. I do send herewith the names of all the soldiers and mariners, together with the names of the chiefest dealers in this towne against the welfare and quietnes of their countrie.

Surely it were good that some one of understanding were entertained to advertise from hence of particularities universal and chiefly concerning England. For this I know, there is a great hope and expectation of the Scottish Queene's enlargement, and all practises tend that way. No one man in England more noted here, than your Lordship is, yea, it is sayde by some that your Lordship onlie is the chiefest cause of the trouble, and worketh most against her.

And therefore those lewd libels be cast out against you chiefly, by which their writing they do not only mean mischief

* Who was one of the English rebels. Along with the letters, Dr. Wilson sent a list of English sailors, &c. in their service.

to your Lordship, but destruction to our most gracious soverayne, whose faithful and good-meaning nature is much abused by these false craftie foxes. Surelie the Catholics' malice is unspeakable, and if I had not by secrete meanes understoode their deepe maliciousnes, I would never have believed the same by any common bare reporte. God, for his mercie, defende our soverayne from their tyrannie!

This daie I understoode that the French King shoulde marie the daughter of the Duke of Vaudemont, whereof the House of Guise is descended, and to-morrowe is the mariage daye. I do know, your Lordship is not ignorant of this, and yet because of the manner of reporting it, I thought good to shew what is sayde. At his being at Avignon, certayne Jesuites came unto hym, and persuaded him to leave that loose lyfe of his, and to forsake souche dames as he brought with hym out of Venice, otherwyse God would not prosper him. And hereupon he, being touched, hath confessed his synnefull lyfe to those Jesuites, with full purpose to lyve better hereafter, and so hathe given himselfe to marie. At his going from Avignon to Rheymys to be sacred, there was no money to be had, and therefore one Ludovico da Diagetto, a Florentyne, was enforced muche agaynst his wyl, to disburse by waye of lone an hundred thousand frankes, or els the Kinge coulde not have gone from Avignon to be sacred at Rheymys, nor yet to be married.

The Jesuites here do beare all the credit, and yesterday the Commendator went with the Bysshoppe of Antwerpe to their howse to see it sanctified by the sayd Bysshoppe, which howse was bought at the charges of certayne women and wydowes in this towne, for a greate summe of moneye; as another also is bought at Bridges, where our Englishe staplers did dwel. The English catholics in this countrie do give oute that Kynge Philippe wyl be a meane to the Queene's Majestie, that four Englishe Jesuites maie freelie preache in England; Sanders and Aleyn of Douay named for two of

them. What the other two are I know not, although I do heare the two Heywodes named, and others.

It is certayne that the Turke is deade, and his sonne Amurathes in place, a yonge man of twenty-six years of age, fierce, cruel, martial, and a deadly ennemye to all Christendome. He prepareth three armyes for three several places, and threatneth utter destruction. To shewe hymselfe to be a very tyrant indede, it is sayde that he hath caused fyve of his bretheren to be putte to death.

The Flushingers are sayde to have taken ten shyppes of Spayne, laden with wolles, and fyve shyppes laden with fruites, wyne, and other merchandises, and all these verie latelie.*

The four commissioners are gone from hence to deale with the Countie Swafhenbrough for an accomde, if it be possible. The Counte hath no authoritie to determyne, but to make report onlie to the Emperour, and his Majestie to stryke the stroke. Kyng Philipe doth mynde to have peace in any wise, howsoever it be made; requiring onlie that regard be had to his honor in the making thereof. This Countie desireth an ende of these warres most earnestlie. The Commendator seeketh for monye chiefly, whereof here is great wante. Those in Flanders have yielded to paye in four yeres three myllions and six hundred thousand crownes, upon assurance to have their privileges observed. Those of Brabant are to meete here, the 19th of this monthe, for their portion; who are the most unwilling of all others to grante any thyng, excepte they may have their privileges, which are the greatest and strangest that ever I have seen, read, or understoode.

And thus most hartelie I do commend me to your good Lordship, praying God hartelie, that I may speedelie make my returne. From Antwerpe, this 14th of Februarie, 1574.

Your Lordship's ever most assured,

THOMAS WYLSON.

* Flushing was in the hands of the Protestants, enemies to the

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Sir, I am crediblie enformed that th'Erle is unquyet and conferreth by the helpe of some of the examiners to use the councell of certain precisians, I feare, and purposeth to undo me, &c.; but I care not for hym, yet I wil reverence hym, because her Majestie hath so placed hym, as I do all others toward her, and if you do not provide in tyme to drill this attempt, there will be fewe in authoritye to care greatly for your danger, and for such others, they will provide for themselves, and wyl learne by me in my case howe to do. I was informed by a wise man that a conspyracye of us was proposed, if the parliament had gone forward. At whom they shote, God knoweth all. If I led with the vehement wordes of the first statute (before I was in place) howe Archbishops and Bishops be charged as we wold auswere before God, &c. which wordes I have put to his consideration advisedly; if I set forth that religion, which I knowe in conscience is good, and confirmed by publick authoritie; if I do the Quene's commandement, for which the precisians hate me; what is meant but to go over the style, where it is lowest. Beware of cunning, all is not gold that glittereth. As for myself, I care not thre poyntes, for if I shold lye in prison for doing a poynt of justice with charitable discretion, I wil rejoyce in it; whatsoever welthe or commodity maye stand in my office, I desire it not for myself.

I wrote my letters to hym, and dyd for charytie move one other of the gretest parties of them to conscience, but uot in a submyssion, (as some of the crue take it and report it,) for I have neyther offended hym nor them, (except I was careful for your saveward,) and he peaceably agayn wryting to me,

Spanish government, who had obtained great power on the coast, and committed perpetual devastations on the Spanish navy.

* This is the last letter we shall have from the good and amiable Archbishop Parker, who died on the 17th of May following, at the age of seventy-two, and was buried in the chapel at Lambeth.

yet I understand what is purposed agaynst me, for religion's sake, I take it. And do you thinke that they knowe not what religion you be of, and what ye do therin? In talke (as I am informed) you be accompted the Deane of Westmynstre, it must be of some pollecie that I neyther write nor oft come to the court. I like not these dialogues, these treatises, these French bokes, &c. I feele some displeasure in some that be towardes me, as where they kepe in the King's benche an honest olde man, a very good and modest preacher, and some tyme my almoner, whom I have sent home to his benefice to do good, and yet in extremyty of lawe against al consyence in the court of requestes condemned, and persecuted for love of me, of such whom I specially made, and who at this daye have the most parte of their lyving by me; a matter picked partly of covetousness and meere malice, and so favored, and, but this matter is to long to write of, he hath lyne there ever since Hollowmas in a nastye prison, chargeably, and rotting among the worst, who shal be there stil before I wil serve their turnes. I maye not worke against precisians and puritanes, though the lawes be agaynst them, knowe one and knowe all.

I trust her Highnes with your advise wil take good heede, and specially for providing of such as shal governe the diocesses. I like wel my neybor at Westmynstre, the Deane there, to be at Norwich, whose sad¹ and sure governance in confirmytie I knowe. I set not one halfpenny by the profite of the diocess, for any procurations or jurisdictions, for at my last metropolitan visitation there, I had never a penny of them, but the visitors spoiled all; and I spent twenty pounds of myn owne purse to have that diocesse wel visited, and yet no good done, and the contrye proclaiming, and some varletts purchased (as I am informed) twenty pounds yerely by their bribing, whom some of my visitors be like used, but I knewe not of it till all was done.

I am a foole to use this playnnes with you in writing, but

¹ Serious.

though I have a dull heade, yet I see partly by myself and partly by others howe the game goeth. I toye out my tyme partly with copying of bokes, partly in devising ordinances for scholars to helpe the mynistry, partly in genealogies, and so forth, for I have little helpe (if ye knewe all) where I thought to have had most, and thus tyl Almighty God cometh I repose myself in patyence. At my house, this 18th of February.

Yours in Christ,

MATTHEW CANT.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON* TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My honorable good Lorde, I with others of the commission have advertised the counsell of certaine strangers of the countries of Hollande, Flanders, and Luke, which were apprehended on Easter daie laste. We examined them, propounded these four points of religion unto them :

1. Whether that Christe tooke naturall fleshe of the substance of the Virgin Mary.

2. Whether that infants are to be baptized.

3. Whether a Christian may take upon him the office of a magistrate, and punishe transgressors with the sworde.

4. Whether it be lawfull to sweare, and by an oathe to beare witnes to the truthe.

All these poynts they flatly denied, and being pressed by the authoritie of the scriptures, as well by the Frenche as Dutche preachers alledged agaynste them, not one of them wolde yelde therunto ; whereuppon we returned them to the

* Edwin Sandys, consecrated Bishop of Worcester, 21st Dec. 1559, and removed to the See of London, after Grindal had quitted it for that of York, in 1570. Many of the foreigners who sought refuge in England from the religious persecutions which raged in their own countries, held doctrines altogether dissonant from the Protestant Church of England, and not content with the asylum which was given to them, busied themselves in spreading their own doctrines, and in raising dangerous seditions in matters of religion.

Marshalsea agayne, and now praie some order for them ; for it will be too dangerous to suffer these errors to be spreade abroad in this realme. If your Lordship will give me leave to saie myne opinion, I would think it convenient, that suche as will recant their errors in the Dutche church openly, and yielde themselves to be members of that church, and to communicate with that congregation in the worde, sacraments, and praier, that they are to be tollerated and still remaine in this realme ; but such as will refuse thus to do, in myne opinion it is moste necessary that they be utterlie expelled oute of this realme, and if they returne to lose their lives for it. The last yeare, by order from the counsell, I committed sixtene of the same sorte to the Lorde Maior that then was : he put them in a shippe to banish them, but as I am informed they sailed not over, but arryved agayne upon the parts of Norfolke, and I thinke that some of them are now in holde here, which were banished then. I shall praie your good Lordship to be a meane that some speedy order may be taken for these people. On Fridaye last, according to your Lordship's order, I tendred the oathe, being well assisted bothe by Justice Manwodde and sondry of the commission, to the Irishe priest. First I offered the oathe as his ordinary, afterwards by vertue of the commission, but he flatly refused it.

Justice Manwodde is presently framing a certificat for me to offer into the Benche.

Thus praying God to graunt unto your good Lordship health of body and soule, I humbly take my leave. London, 11th Aprilis, 1575.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

ED. LONDON.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO LORD BURGHELY.

My good Lord, I most hartely thank you for the care I perceiue you have had of my servant, by the speedy making of the book, which I mean to present to her Majestie, and to

leave the keping in or putting out of the twelve wordes to her own best lyking and pleasure ; nevertheles, howsoever it take, I reckon myself much beholding to your Lordship, and wyl be redy to my power to requyte it.

Her Majestie, God be thanked, is better and better since her fyrst coming hither, and this day was once about to have taken physick, but fynding herself very well, deferred it. God send her no nede to take any these many yeres !

I cannot send your Lordship certen word of her remove, neyther yet is she resolved whether to go to Yorke or no ; her desire is great that way, I perceive, and it is lyke, if she find her health well, that she will go thither. It wyl be these three or four days ere she wyl determine it ; if your Lordship is not thither yourself, you shall be advertised as sone as it shal be resolved. And so wishing your Lordship as well as myself, with my most harty commendations to both my good ladyes,* I wyl byd ye farewell, in great haste.

Scribbled this 10th of June.

Your Lordship's assured frend,

R. LEYCESTER.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My good Lord, the great expectation I had of your being here before this tyme caused me to be more silent to you then ells I had bene, but fynding your comming yet dowbtfull (albeit I hope Kenelworth shall not mysse you) I will lett your Lordship understand such newes as we have, which is only and chiefly of her Majestie's good health,† which, God be thanked, is as good as I have long knowen it, and for her liking of this howse, I assure your Lordship, I think she never came to place in her lyfe she lykes better, or commends

* Lady Burghley and Lady Oxford.

† She was now on the progress in which she made the celebrated visit to Kenilworth. At the writing of this letter she was perhaps at Grafton.

more. And synce her coming hither, as oft as weather serves, she hathe not bene within dores. The howse lykes her well, and her owen lodgings specyally. She thinks her cost well bestowed, she sayth, if it had bene five tymes as muche; but I wold her Majesty wold bestowe but half as much more, and then I think she should have as pleasant and commodious a howse as any in England. I am sorry your Lordship is not here to see it.

Even by and by her Majesty is going to the forrest to kyll some bucks with her bowe, as she hathe done in the parke this morning. God be thanked, she is very merry and well disposed now. But at her fyrst coming, being a marvelous hott day, at her coming hither not one drop of good drynk for her, so well was she provyded for, notwithstanding her oft telling of her coming hither. But we were fayne to London with bottells, to Kenelworth, to dyvers other places, where ale was, her owen here was such strong, as there was no man able to drynk it, you had bene as good to have drank Malmsey, and yet was it layd in above three days before her Majesty came. It dyd put her very farr out of temper, and almost all the company besyde too; for none of us all was able to drynk bere or ale here. Synce, by chance, we have found drynk for her, to her lyking; and she is well agayne, but I feared greatly two or three dayes some sycknes to have fallen, by reason of this drinke. God be thanked, she is now perfect well and merry, and I think uppon Thursdaye come se'nnight will take her jorney toward Kenelworth, where I pray God she may lyke all things no worse then she hath done here.

I hope the letter by your good meanes for the graunt of her Majesty touching the concealed wards, &c.

As I have to thank your Lordship for your frendly dealing, so wyll I no whitt be lesse thankfull then I have promised, and therof your Lordship assure yourself, though it please you to referr it to my consideration, it shall be even as I offred your Lordship at fyrst, and so shall your own dealers

be the doers as myne. And as I know your Lordship's charges to be as manye, and as your places requires, so wold it dyd lye in me, or may lye in me, to help to better it, as your Lordship shal sone fynd, when the occasion shall be offered, that I wyll deale no lesse but more earnestly than for myself, for so I may do, and what your Lordship shall imparte unto me at any time for the accomplishment hereof, you shall see how willingly and carefully I wyll deale in it. And so wishing your good Lordship health and alway well to do, with my most harty commendations, wyll byd your Lordship farewell.

In some hast, ready to ryde, this Tuesday toward evening,
(June 28, 1575.)

Your Lordship's assured frend,

R. LEYCESTER.

Her Majesty hath signed my other booke also, but no yeres after death.

TO SIR H. KILLIGREW.

Sir, my Lords, by Mr. Selbye's letters of the 9th of this present, having some cause to hope that the disorder lately happened in the Middle Marches was not a thing prepared, but fell out by chance uppon some untemperate speeches that passed betwene Sir John Forster and Carmychel,*

* This disorder was the 'Raid of the Reidswire,' so famous in border song. On the 17th of June, 1575, a meeting for border matters was held at the Reidswire, about ten miles from Jedburgh, by the wardens of the Middle Marches. Sir John Forster was the English warden. The warden for Scotland was Sir John Carmichael, a great favourite of the Regent Morton. In the course of the day a true bill was found against one Farnstein, a notorious English freebooter. Forster alleged that this man had fled from justice, and therefore that it was not in his power to make compensation. Carmichael, thinking this

thynke it very convenient (unles you see great cause to the contrary) that you proceede onwarde in your voiage to the Regent, and at your coming there and accesse unto him, they thinke it meete that you shold as of yourself deale very earnestly with him for the redresse of this late inconvenience happened, and to lay before him that her Majestie cannot in honor endure that a minister of hers of that quality that Sir John Forster is of should be so used, nor other slayne and taken prisoners, without revenge, unles he shall see some severe punishment executed uppon the offenders. And for that it is thought that Carmichel is one whom the Regent dearly loveth, and therefore, (notwithstanding he is the man that chiefly is thought culpable of the said disorder,) would be loathe to use that severity in punishing of him that in reason and justice he is bound, yet they would have you persuade him that he commit him for a tyme unto Edinboroughe Castle, that it may appeare unto the worlde that her Majesty is not had by them in contempt, which cannot be otherwise conceived unles he be punished (he being found, as it is thought, greatly culpable). It is thought also convenient that you move him to do execution uppon some others that shal be discovered to have bene the murtherers of Sir George

only a pretext, uttered words of reproach which provoked Forster to use some injurious expressions, that were retorted by the other. The fierce borderers of Redesdale and Tynedale suddenly discharged their arrows amongst the Scots, and a fray began, in which the Scots were at first beaten; but the men of Tynedale falling to plunder, and a body of Jedburghers coming up, the English were in the end defeated, and Sir John Forster, James Ogle, Cuthbert Collingwood, Francis Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford, and other border chiefs, carried off prisoners into Scotland, where the Regent detained them at Dalkeith, till the first heat of both parties was abated. He then dismissed them with the greatest expressions of regard, and afterwards, to appease Elizabeth, sent Carmichael to York, where he was not long retained. An admirable account of this affair is given us in the ballad printed by Sir Walter Scott, in the "Border Minstrelsy."

Herne,* and others of her subjects slayne at that tyme, for that her Majesty may not endure to have her subjects slayne and the slayers of them not punished according to such treatyes of amytie as have passed betwene the two crownes. So much of their opinion they thought good to imparte unto you, to the end you may perceive how necessary they finde it for the saving of her Majesty's honor, and the continuing of good amity between the two realmes, that he be earnestly and effectually moved to see some due punishment taken of the offenders.

Anything that you shall do to that end, though it be not in that course that presently is set downe, they cannot but allow of. And so I commit you to God.

From Killingworth,† the 12th of July, 1575.

JOHN SELBY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

Sir John Foster, Sir Francis Russell,‡ Sir Cuthbert Collingwood,§ James Ogle, and Mr. Fenneck of Staunton, with divers other gent, are carried to Dalketh unto the Regent, whereas they do remayne, and are kept as prisoners. And all the rest of gents, countrey men, servants, and others, for the most part are in like case retayned, and kept by their takers as prysoners.

And also the very same day, immediately after the quarrell, the Scotts rane a foraye uppon the water of Read,|| in the Myddell Marches of England, and toke awaye to the

* Sir George Heron, of Chipchase Castle, who was slain in the fray.

† Kenilworth, where the court remained from July 9 to July 27.

‡ Sir Francis Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford, and son-in-law of Sir John Forster, was warden of the East Marches. He was afterwards killed in a similar fray in 1585.

§ Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, of Esclington, Sheriff of Northumberland in the 10th and 20th of Elizabeth.

|| The Reid-water, a stream which rises near the scene of the fray.

number of three hundred cattayll, the which they do as yet still detaine.

Also sithence, within these East Marches, I have taken such ordre, that there hath bene no attempt committed uppon neither partie.

Notwithstanding that, the best of these borders be well willing and contented to seke revenge in respect of the death and losse of theyr dear frends, howbeit they are and will be obedient to observe the peace, untill such tyme as the Quene makes her pleasure be further knowen herein.

(July 15, 1575).

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, by these inclosed jestes yesterdaye determyned on, your Lordship may perceyve howe her Majesty's determynation to go to Worcester is altered, uppon advertisement from thence, that the towne should be vysyted with small pockes. This alteration, as I suppose, dothe hasten her Majestie's repaire to Dudley Castell sooner than was determyned. Whereuppon your Lordship may take some just cause to excuse your not coming thither.

Touching the French ambassador's repaire hither, I heare nothing; and yet not passed foure dayes sythence I receyved a letter from him, within the which he sent me the Governor of St. Mallo's excuse, touching the spoyles committed of her Majestie's subjects. For the matter wherin you do stryve to confer with him, I see no reason, consydering the suspicion that dayly encreaseth in the King of his brother, that he should meane any suche matter. And the rather I am led so to thinke, for that, as our ambassador wryteth, Moveysier setteth forwarde hitherwarde the 5th of this present.

Howe things passe in France, your Lordship shall under-

stande by these inclosed dyrected to yourselfe. The thicknes wherof maketh me to thinke that the embassador hathe wrytten as amply to your Lordship as to us, the secretaries. I have not by this despache any particular letters wrytten unto me contayning any matter of moment.

Touching the message my nephewe Fytzwylliam delyvered unto me by mouthe from your Lordship, I have as yet hearde nothinge of that matter, and am not lyke to heare therof very muche, being lodged as I am far off from the courte, and having no great dysposition to repayre thither, but drawn by especyall occasion.

And so having nothing ells presently to imparte unto your Lordship, I moste humbly take my leave.

At Stafforde, the 7th of Auguste, 1575.

Your Lordship's to commande,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

By a messenger from the Earl of Essex, we learne that there hathe bene a conflicte betwene him and Sarleboye, wherein divers Scotts were slayne, and theruppon Sarleboye desyreth to fall to composition.

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD * TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, I receaved your Lordship's letters of the 6th of August, upon the 7th of the same, from Buckestones,† for the which I most humblye

* This eminent lawyer, a natural son of Richard Fletewood, descended from the Fletewoods of Penwartham, in Lancashire, was recorder of London from 1569 to 1591. Anthony Wood says, that he was "a learned man and a good antiquary, but of a marvelous merry and pleasant conceit." He often appears in this latter character in his letters, which give us a most interesting picture of London as it was in the days of "good Queen Bess." Fletewood died at his house in Noble street, Aldersgate, on the 28th of February, 1594.

† Lord Burghley was on a visit to Buxton, for the benefit of the

thanke your good Lordship. The state of this cittie, my Lord, is well, and all quiet. Upon Monday laste my Lord Keper sat in the Starre Chamber, with my Lord of London, Mr. Chancellor of the Duchie, the Master of the Rolles, and Mr. Sowthecot. There were before them Mr. John Ashley, Mr. Levetenant of the Tower, Sir Rowland Hayward, and Sir John Ryvers, with divers other aldermen of our cittie, and myself. And as my Lord Keper's order is to call for the booke of misbehaviours of masterles men, rogges,¹ fencers, and such like, we had nothing to present for London, for Mr. Justice Southecot and I had taken fine of sixe strompettes, suche as haunt the hegge, and which had latelie been punished at the assizes in Croyden, and two or three other lewde felowes their companions, whom we dispatched awaye into their countreyes. As for Westminster, the Duchie,* St. Giles, Highe Holborne, St. Johne's streate, and Islington, were never so well and quiet, for neither roge nor masterles man dare once to looke into those partes.

My Lord Keper and the residue of the counsell at the Starre Chamber have set downe in writing certain orders for the reforming of sundry matters. One is for the suppressing of the over greate number of alehouses, the which thing, upon Wednesday last, my Lord Maior, Sir Rowland Hayward, and myself, for the liberties of Southwark, and Mr. Justice Southcote and myself for Lambeth towne, Lambeth marshe, the Clinke, the Banke, Parris garden, the Over ground, Newington, Barmondesay strete, and Kentishe strete, sitting altogether, we have put down, I am certain, above two hundred alehouses, and yet have left a sufficient number, yea, and more I feare then my Lord Keper will well like of at his next coming.

water. His visits thither gave room for some of his enemies to report that he was practising with the Queen of Scots, an accusation to which alludes in some of his letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

¹ Rogues.

* The Duchy was the district about the Savoy, parcel of the possessions of the Dukes of Lancaster.

This was done upon Weddensdaye and Thursdaye in the forenoones. Upon the same Weddensdaye, the Master of the Rolles, Mr. Southcot, Mr. Deane of Westminster, Mr. Doctor Lewes, Mr. Edward Cordell, and myself, with other friendes, dyned at Mr. Campion's the brewer's. At after dynner Mr. Deane and I went to Westminster, and there in the courte we had before us all the officers of the Duchie and of Westminster, and there we have put downe nere an hundred alehouses. As for St. Giles, High Holborne, St. Johnes strete, and Islyngton, Mr. Randoll and I mean this Saturdaye, at after noone, to see reformation in like manner. Mr. Levetennant and Mr. Fyssher deale for the east parte. I am sure they will use great diligence in these matters. And upon Thursdaye, the Master of the Rolles and I dyned at Lyncolnes Inne, with Mr. Thymbleby the pleader, and Mr. Sowthcot dyned in Flete strete, at one Mr. Walshe's, his one-in-lawe; and at Walshe's doore three dronken ruffians, being fensers, drew theire weapons and began a fraye, and Mr. Justice apprehended them, and brought them to the Rolls, where the Master, he, and I, by our warrant sent them to Newgate, where they shall remaine untill my Lord Keper's coming.

Yesterdaye, being Fridaye, in the afternoone, Mr. Hennage, Mr. Wotton, Mr. Norton, and I, were with the Master of the Rolles, occupied in passing of Mrs. Hester Pickering's joynter, the which we have agreed of, if your Lordship and others of Sir William Pickering's fryendes shall well like of it. And as touching the Inns of Court, it so fell out that at Grey's Inne there was no reading this vacation, because one dyed there of the plague. At the Inner Temple there hath been a reading, but by means that the plague was in the howse, the reading, being scarce half done, is now broken up. In Lincolne's Inne yesterdaye, being Fridaye, at after noone, one is dead of the plague, and the companye are now to be dispersed. In the Middle Temple, where I am, I thank God, we have our health, and our reading contynueth. I am allwayes at the reading, and I have taken straight order upon

paine of putting out of commons, that none of the gentlemen of our howse or their servants shall go out of the howse, except it be by water, and not to come in anie place of daunger, the which order is well observed.

Yesterdaye, being Fridaye, betwene five and six of the clock, I being arguing of Mr. Reader's case, and all the whole company being present, as our order is, there cometh into the Temple church a minister, one Tasse, a northern man, servaunt to my Lord of Warwick, a hosier and his wife dwelling nere Cecille House, and a daughter of Sir Robert Drewrye's, and in a secret corner of the church the minister, without any licence or bandes asked, was beginning to marrye this Tasse and Mrs. Drewrye, and by chaunse my fellowe Robert Snagge missing his man, and seking for him in the church, by chaunse fell upon this solempne marriage. And thereupon he drove them all out of the church before him, and told me of it, and I sought out the same Tasse, and brought him before the Master of the Rolles and Mr. Hennage, and upon the examination of the matter, it appeared Sir Roberte would not give anything to her mariage, because she intended to marrye against his will. The gentlewoman is forty yeres old, and Tasse is twenty-six, and hath no lyving. Whereupon Mr. Hennage and I, pitying the state of the poore yonge man, did recommend him over to Mr. Drewe Drewry, who lyeth at Hamsted, who I thinke will be good to him. Nothing in this little comedie did more offende me, than that they said they did choose the rather to marrye in the Temple, because they supposed it to be a laweles church.

I heare that Mr. Customer Smithe maketh a great mariage this nexte weke, betwene his sone and the daughter and heire of Mr. Fenex of Kent. This mariage shall be in Kent. Gentlemen of reputation that are in London at this time, are the Master of the Rolles, Mr. Hennage, Mr. John Asteley, who lyeth at Pykering Howse, Mr. Thomas Wotton, Mr. Fanshowe, Mr. Osborne, Mr. Doctor Lewes, Mr. Doctors Yale and Amberye, Sir Thomas Kempe, and my Ladie, Mr.

Levetenant, Mr. Deanes of Powles and Westm., Mr. Fyssher, Mr. Stoneley, and Mr. Peter ; of our Aldermen there is out of the cittie in the countrie, Mr. Draper, Mr. Boxe, and Mr. Pype. The residue are here in London. My Ladie Russell cometh shortelye unto Sir Thomas Chamberlen's howse, next Powles, where she meaneth by God's grace to lye in.

My Lord, the onlie cause that this reformation taketh so good effecte here about London, is that when by order we have justlye executed the lawe, or preserved the counsell's commandement, we are wonte either to have a great man's letter, a ladie's ringe, or some other token from some other suche inferior persons, as will devise one untrueth or other to accuse us of, if we preferre not their unlawfull requests ; the court is farre of ; here we are not troubled with letters, neither for the reprie of this prisoner, nor for sparing of that fraye-maker. These secretories, chamberkeepers, and solicitors in the court, procure many letters from their lords and ladies upon untrue suggestions, the which letters do greatly hurte. My Lord Chiefe Justice, or he departed from London, tooke order that Mr. Southcot shold graunt no Habeas Corpus ; by means hereof fewe or none dare offende, wanting these backsetts. For myne own parte I have no busines, but go as quietlye to my booke as I did the first yeaere that I came to the Temple. Thus being over bolde with your good Lordship, with these my tedious letters, I do most humblye commit your Honor to the tuition of Almightye God. This 8th of August, 1575, at Bacon House.

Your good Lordship's most humble,

W. FLETEWODE.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very goode Lorde, thys bearer, Mr. Bowse, coming to her Majestie with the whole proceedings of my Lord of Huntingdon in these matters, as also with the Regent's an-

swer totching the same, so as there resteth nothyng but her Majestie's resolution, what she wyll require or have done for her satisfaction and repayring of her honor in this case, I am so bold as to trouble your Lordship with my opinion therin, as also to advertise your Lordship of some doings here in Skotland, which, if the Regent looke not well unto it, and seeke to prevent it, wyll make as greate a broyle in Skotland as hathe bene heretofore. It may be that your Lordship is better advertysed thereof by others then I can, yet I wyll not omyt to let ye understand what I know therof, and as I perceive wyll follow.

Touching her Majestie's satysfaction for the kylling of her subjects, the law of the borders, and the comysioners' booke, by the which we are dyrected for all border matters, is to demande a quick man for a dead, to be executed for the facte, although it hathe bene seldome putt in force, as also it appears that there are as many of the Skots slayne as of ours, but not of suche valew, and some of theyrs slayne by some of theyr owne, as is to be proved, and therefore, surely, unles some of the offenders be delyvered to be executed, there wyll hardly be any meting in safety hereafter.

For the taking of Sir John Forster and the rest prysoners, her Majestie cannot but demand for Carmychell and the Lard of Bedrowle* to be delyvered, or some others that was then with Carmychell, to be imprisoned at her Majestie's pleasure, but her Majestie cannot touche them in lyfe, and for this, if any wold not have it so, your Lordship may allege a precedent which cannot be denied by the Skotts.

Aboute 60 yere sens there was a day of trew betwene Sir

* Sir Andrew Turnbull of Bedrule, upon Rule Water. The Turnbills were the most notorious thieves on the borders: The old ballad of the Raid of the Reidswire, describes the Laird as being very busy in the fray.—

“But auld Badreule had on a jack,
And did right weel, I you declare,
With all the Trumbills at his back.”

Wylliam Herron, Warden of the Middle Marche, and one Robert Carr, Warden of Tyvydale, and upon words of contention, as thys was, a base son of Sir Wylliam Herron's slew the Warden of Skotland, and fled, but upon complaynt therof made by the King of the Skotts, the sayd Sir Wylliam Herron, and a neview of hys who was hys heyr, were delyvered into Skotland, where they were kepte in Fauste Castell fourteen yere. I do not write thys as presuming to give her Majestie any advyse herin, but to let your Lordship understand what hath bene done in the lyke cases.

Now touching the Regent, surely in myn opynion the matter is of grete consequence, and in some respect cannot but touche her Majesty. The Regent's dealings in many thyngs are greatly myslyked withall by the moste parte of the noblytie of his owne faction, but chiefly for one matter, whych is, for that he hathe of late (as it is credibly reported, and I thynk is very trew,) taken a secret submission of the Lorde of Arbrothe, by delivering to the Regent hys sworde with the hylt forwarde, the poynt in his hande, being knowne to be the pryncipall procurer of the kylling of th'Erle of Murrey, for the harquebuss that kyld hym was hys, the horse the murtherer fled upon was hys, and he receivyd hym into Hambelton, and sent hym into France, which is hardly brooked by the rest of the Lords.

Besydes it is holden for certain, that Arbrothe shall marry with the Lady of Bucklewhe, who is the Regent's niece, and in howse with hym, so as it cannot be without hys consent; and if it do so fall out, he wyll not be long Regent, for upon these matters and some other, the Lords were resolved to kepe a convention at Sterling without him, and if he do not satisfy them in these matters, I thynk verly they wyll do so.

And surely my Lord, if he eyther make or consent to that marriage, eyther he must be Regent by the Quene's Majestie only, and then she to lose the rest of the noblytie which

are now at her devotion, or els consent with them to depose hym, and then I know not who should be Regent to serve her Majestie's turne.

Thus have I troubled your Lordship over longe with these matters. And so referring your Lordship to thys bearer, who can inform ye of these matters more at large, I commyt your Lordship to the Almighty. At Berwyk, the 24th of August, 1575.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

HUNSDON.

STUKELEY TO MISTRESS JULIAN.*

My good Mestres Julyan, I have received your gentill letter by thys bearer, whom I offered all curtesy for your sake. Whereas you required me to dellyver hym three or four score crownes for your use, he wold not have it, for that, as he tolde me, he had not any occasion to use it. Trust me, whensoever it shall please you to command, if it be for ten thousand crownes, you may boldly employ me, for I wyll as wyllingly dysburse it to pleasure you, as I wold give one poynt; by profe, you shall best know the desyre I have to serve you and to give you content, whensoever it shall please you to use me. Now I refer it to yourselfe to command me, for I am and ever will be ready (with God's grace) to obey you, &c.

I thanke you for the two dosen of poynts which you sent me. I receyved them as thankfullie, coming from you, as if it had been so many dyamondes. I send you by thys bearer halfe a dozen of pyctures wrought uppon taffyta.

What estate I am in, I refer to be told you by this bearer, which is and ever shall be to honor and to serve you. Pray for me, as I wyll do for you. I commend me most lovingly unto yourselfe, and us both unto God, who of hys goodnes

* Superscribed "To my very good frynd Mestres Jullyan, &c.

send us a joyfull meeting. From Rome, the 24th of October, 1575.

Your's faythfully and most assuredly,

THOMAS STUCLEY.

SIR NICHOLAS WHITE TO LORD BURGHELY.

My singular good Lord, as the towardnes of this yong man, my son, is mucche to my comforte, so have I humbly to thank your Honor for whose sake he hathe bene so well applied by the Deane of Westminster and Mr. Whitegift, to whom I can give no greater rewarde then your hoped thanks. He hathe bestowed some tyme here with me in reading the principles of the lawe, and is now returned to the inns of court, where I feare he shall hardly be admytted without your Lordship's accustomed favor, to which I commyt hym, praying God he may be able to honor you and your house hereafter. My very good Lord th'Erle of Essex hath taken my second son to be brought up with the Viscount his son, chiefly for that his mother was a Deverux. My sonnes and myselfe are beholding for good offices to this gentleman, Mr. Waterhouse, a man in whom there are many good parts conjoyned with greate sobrietie, and of me beloved chiefly for that he professeth to love and honor you before others.

And nowe to follow my promise of advertisements to your Honor, I will briefly touche some things of the matters of this state, and that freely without mistrust, because I knowe to whom I write, and have also determyned to wryte of certainties that I knowe, and in the rest to follow but myn opinions.

And first touching th'Erle of Essex, I fynde that he hathe brought the North of Irelande to a manifest appearance of reformation, when the greatest there were contented to accept small portions, to yield both rent and dutie for the same,

and I doubt not, with the expense of a little more tyme and chardges, would have reduced that province to perpetuall obedience. But what good thing can be hoped for here, when a prince's deternynation touching so great an enterprize in the hands of so sufficient and so honorable a subject to perform it, shal be so suddenly revoked? And if I might with all humilitie say it to her Highnes, there are two things of great moment that seme strange to us here, if they be true. Th'one is the letting of the realme to farme, wherin so many harts might be alienated from the landlorde to the farmers; and the other is the casting upp of th'Erle's enterprize betweene the fallowe and the sede, which will make Ulster desperate, and all the rest doubtfull.

And truly, if she look not backe where she began, and revive both the man and the matter, she shall puffe upp the Irishe into incorrigible pryde, and pull downe the harts of all good English subjects to a perpetuall diffidence of any settled government in this realme. There cannot go out of this lande a man with greater fame of honor, nor can come in whose bountie hath deserved more. And if that noble mynde of his, so desyrous of honor, and so careless of payn, were employed with the association of grave counsell, I believe God hath ordeyned him to do greate things. But here I leave him and the successe of all his causes to God's holy will.

The Deputie is returned out of the Northe, and hath apoynted th'Earle of Ormond to mete him at the fort in Lex, the 7th of the next monethe, and thence dothe repayre to Corke to kepe his Christmas. As I heare of no great thing he hath done in the north, more then that the Irishry have heard of his being at Cnockfargus, and might have judged th'Erle's revocation by making of his first voiadge thither, so I know not what he hath to do in Munster, if they contynue that quietnes wherin Sir William Fitzwilliams left them. And yet I understande the commissioners there differ in report thereof, the Justice Dowdall affirming Desmond's conformytie, and

the rest avowching the contrary, but for truthe how intemperately soever he stormes in claiming the absolute rule of the Geraldynes to himselfe, yet in the ende he is loathe to attempt any thing contrary to lawe. And so I leave the Deputie in his intended jorney, till I fynde further occasion to write.

Th'Erle of Essex hath bene lately bothe honorably and lovingly entertayned by th'Erle of Ormond at Kilkenny, where I also was, as one to whom they give good cause to honor them, but truly I love them bothe the more for that I knowe they love and honor you with carefull mynds for the continuance of your honorable estate. I have told Sir William Fitzwilliams myn opinion touching th'Erle of Kildare, who deserves well to be corrected, but hardly to be cut off for any traytorous intent against the Prince, howsoever covetousness might move him to envy the gayn of captains here.

The towne of Drogheda is lately infected with the plague, and the same dispersed into th'Englishe pale, which hathe chiefly banyshed us hither to Waterford.

Thus, craving pardon for my tedious writing, I humbly ende; with my contynuall prayer to God for your helth and prosperous estate. From Waterford, this 27th of October, 1575.

Your Honor's humbly and most
bounden to command during life,
N. WHITE.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.

It maye please your Lordship, at my returne to the courte, I met with a messenger sent from the Erle of Essex, with letters unto her Majestie, by the which he dyd give her Majesty to understande, that he was arryved within this realme, and that he greatly desyred that he might have leave to come to see her Majesty. Wheruppon her Majesty wyllled me to sig-

nife unto him that she was glad of his arrivall, and was well pleased that he should repaire to the courte, with condition that with over much haste he dyd not dystemper his bodye.

By his servaunt I learne that on Monday last he dyd meane to set forwarde from a howse he hathe in Sowthe Wales, not far from the place where he landed; so that I judge that he wyll be here within fyve or syxe days.

This daye her Majesty was given to understande that Sir John Gylberd should advertise your Lordship of the apprehension of Stukeley,* which is not here believed, for that we heare no confirmation thereof from your Lordship.

By Mr. Hatton I understande of your Lordship's honorable and frendly dealing towards me, in perswading her Majesty to have some consideration or rather compassion of my poore estate: for the which I render unto your Lordship my most humble thanks, thynking myselfe greatly bounde unto you for the same.

By these inclosed occurrents out of Italye, it appeareth that the matters of Genua are lyke to be appeased: I praye God the forces there presently a foote, be not transported into Fraunce, (a thing somewhat doubted by Mr. Cobham.) It should appeare by the comfort that the Pope putteth the Cardynalls in, touching the troubled state of Fraunce, that there is somewhat a brewing.

And so leaving farther to trouble your Lordship, I most humbly take my leave. At Windesor, the 18th of November, 1575.

Your Lordship's to commande,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* Probably a relative of Thomas Stukeley.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, this day there came an ordynary post out of Fraunce, who brought a packet in the which these letters to your Lordship.

I perceive the truce holdeth yet after a sorte, and I think those that refuse to deliver the townes, do rather it *pour faire le bon varlet*, as the Frenche dothe terme it, and to shew themselves not affectionate to Monsieur, but to the King, than for any other respect.

I send also herewith to your Lordship and to my Lord Keeper, a letter which the Quene's Majestie willed this day my Lords to write unto you, for the redres of this common riding with pistoles, wherby theves now do more boldly rob true men; and of the common rowtes nowadays of roging beggars by the highway side, naming themselves souldiers of Ireland lately discharged. Her Majestie shewed me, that some of them hath said, they be of the company of fiftene hundred which are fayne so now to go on begging.

It is honorable and almost necessary, that some good order were taken for these two disorders. Thus I commit your Lordship to Almighty God. From Wyndesor, the 4th of December, at night, 1575.

Your Lordship's allwais at commandement,

T. SMITH.

SIR THOMAS SMITH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, yesternight upon occasion the Quene's Majesty spake unto me of Ireland, as misliking th'enterprise of Ulster, for default of them who should execute it, axing what men of counsell or wisdom there were, into whose hands there should be committed so great a masse of money, and so great a charge.

I answered her Highnes, the counsell what and how to do

was allready taken, a plat laid downe by my Lord of Essex, allowed of the Deputie and counsell there, and well liked of my Lords here, as her Highnes hath at large heard of my Lords and all their reasons.

So that where it is said, *priusquam incipias consulto*, that hath bene maturely and deliberately done, to the which her Highnes, by letter to my Lord Deputy and my Lord of Essex, hath given her consent. Now resteth there nothing, but *ubi consulueris mature, opus est facto*. To the which her Majesty hath set a good begynning, giving a warrant for the half yere's charges. "Now," quoth I, "cownsell be commonly of old men, grave men, and full of experience, and at home; the execution is to be done by yong men, captaynes, and souldiers abrode, as my Lord of Essex, who hath shewed great wisdom, courage, and boldness hitherto, and brought it to a very good pass for a begynning; and now having more experience, and Malby and other captains with hym of courage, it is to be hoped that he shall bring it to a good end." "Yea," saith her Majesty, "but whom hath he with hym, but Malby? and suche a masse of money? who shall have the charge of it, and the laying of it forth?" "Madame," quoth I, "the money is to be committed to your treasurer there, and upon his accompts to be employed upon the captains and souldiers for their wages and victailles, and upon fortifications. Indede the warrants must come in those quarters from my Lord of Essex, as reason is;† the number of men for souldiers or laborers is appoynted to hym, their wages and their vitailles likewise, what is this yere to be expended upon them, their vitailles, and fortifications. If he do kepe his plats, then he followeth that which the wisest heades of the counsellors in England thynketh fit and best to be done; otherwise he deceiveth them and your Highnes, and most of all hymself, which it is not likely that he

* The Governor of Lecale.

† Being Governor of Ulster.

should, nor, I trust, he will not do." Still her Majesty harped upon that string, as though she lacked there fit ministers; and shewed herself desirous to speake with your Lordship, with whom, I dowte not, but when her Highnes shall speake, I trust she will be satisfied.

This irresolution and revocation of resolutions will be the undoing of any good actions. I pray your Lordship persuade her Majesty no more to thynk of it, untill Michaelmas; by which tyme I trust she shall see such success, as her Majesty shall be gladd, and sory that it was not set upon before.

Thus I commit your Lordship to Almighty God, glad to communicate this to your Lordship by wryting, which I wold rather have done by speeche, if I had had good occasion. From Chanon-Row, this Sonday, 27th Mar. 1575.

Your Lordship's allwais at commandement,

T. SMITH.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, by my man's negligence, that made up the packet, the abstract was forgotten, which I now sende you.

I am sorry your Lordship fyndeth yourselfe in no better state of healthe, whereof I wyll not fayle to advertise her Majestie.

By the inclosed your Lordship may see howe the Prince of Orange's state groweth to declynation, whereby of necesitie he shall become a preye eyther to Spaine or Fraunce.

I do not looke that Mr. Davyson* shall have any good answer; in his case wordes wyll not helpe. It is too publykely knowen that her Majesty meaneth not to be a dealer. If that might have bene held in suspense, it might have brought forthe some good effect. This daye I looke to heare

* Who had been sent ambassador to the Netherlands, to persuade the States to peace.

out of Flaunders. And so leaving farther to trouble your Lordship, I most humbly take my leave.

At White-Haule, the 12th of April, 1576.

Your Lordship to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR THOMAS SMITH* TO LORD BURGHELY.

My very good Lord, Mr. Williams, secretary to Sir William Fitzwilliams, Deputie of Ireland, is very desirous, after his service in Ireland, to have an office in England, who hath also bene commended to me for the furtherance of his sute by these two letters which I send to your Lordship.

Because I do perceive well that my sicknes is so obstinate and so little caring for any physic, which hath hitherto bene mynistered unto me, I can have no hope of any speedie recoverie, and but weake hope that I shall overcome it. The best is, that at this tyme I do feelee myselfe so weakened, and so dried with physic all my good humors, that I trust shortly I shall recover or see the end of it.

All the physicians which hath bene with me now with one accord do agree, that I must leave all other and take me onely to kitchen physic, wherin they give me leave to eate what meate I can, and what meate soever my appetite doth desire, and lykewise drynk, not having care to the wholesomenes or unwholesomenes, onely to eate and drynke somewhat and what I can. Your Lordship do perceive by this libertie in what

* We must now bid farewell to this accomplished scholar and minister. In the earlier part of the present year he was attacked by a disease which fixed upon his throat and tongue, and gradually gaining upon him, "stopt," as Strype has it, "that eloquent tongue of his and that sweet and streaming rhetoric, which was wont to flow to the delight and admiration of all." Soon after the writing of this letter, he put in execution his promise of retiring to his favourite seat in Essex, where he lingered till the 12th of August, 1577.

good case I am, wherefore following their decree, I mynd now to go straight home into Essex, where I trust eyther to leave my sicknes, or my life; whether pleaseth God, that is best. But if it were in my choyce, I wold leave both at once; yet must I keepe life so long as I can, and not leave the station, wherein God hath sent me, by my defaulte and without his calling, and so mynd I to do, trusting very shortly to have some playne signification from his Majestie to whether haven I shall applie my ship, of death or of health.

Blessed be his holy will, to whom I commyt your Lordship, wishing your Lordship speedy and long health.

From Chanon-row, the second of May, 1576.

Your Lordship's allwais at commandement,

T. SMITH.

THE REGENT OF SCOTLAND* TO LORD BURGHELY.

I am to crave your Lordship's favor in a matter wherewith I wold be loth to inquiet you, if otherwise I might have any reasonable order in it. The redress of the gudes taken on eyther side at the unhappie accident of the Reidswyre was appointed by the order of certaine commissioners on eyther syde that met at Fowldon in November last.

How sone the troubles in France and Flanders shall drawe to any point, I will looke by your Lordship's good meanes not onely to be advertised, but advised thereanent, sithence both our states are subject to the self same enemies and malice, &c.

Lastly, I may not omitt to give your Lordship warning howe I smell an intention of some newe trouble by a giving up, or defiance (as they terme it), sent be Mr. Phenick in

* James, Earl of Morton.

Northumberland to the Rutherfurds, Scottshemen ;* a dealing that semes to me over presumptuous for any subject, where so good affection to continue amitie remaynes betwixt our Soveraignes and both the states, whereanent I pray your Lordship's further such tymous¹ order to be put, as it may appeare howe farre that dealing mislikes her Majestye and your Lordship, and that the attempter may finde himself both admonished and corrected.

(8th May, 1576.)

SIR NICHOLAS WHITE TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My deare good Lord, I received by my nephew your loving letters, all written with your owne hande, which were more comfortable to me than I can expresse.

I finde in them a rule to direct me, and a pillar whereon to stay me, whom yourself hathe lifted up from stumbling downe, wherof I and my posteritie shall always carry a loving memory. I will not presume to prohibit your Honour to write anything to the governor which you shall think good for me ; but I suppose he hathe made choice of suche as he thinks fittest to be acquaynted with his plott, and therefore using me but as *tanquam vocatus*, am to require no more, but his indifference, and favorable acceptation of my best advise in the service of my Prince and countrey.

Oh ! my good Lord, here I must, among others, advertise your Lordship of the dolefull departure of the Erle of Essex, who ended this life to begin a better the 22d of September,

* The Fenwicks were a powerful and numerous clan, whose last representative in the direct line was Sir John Fenwick, executed for high treason in the reign of William III. The Rutherforths were a neighbouring clan on the Scottish side of the border.

¹ Timely.

in the castell of Dublin.* He felt his sicknes first at Taglaghe, the Archbishop of Dublin's house, in his journey towards Baltinglas to mete th'Erle of Ormond, accompanied with the Chancellor, the last of August.

I was muche about him in the later end of his sycknes, and beheld suche true tokyns of nobilitie, conjoynd with a moste Godly and virtuous mynde, to the yielding up his breathe, as is rare to be sene. Two daies before he died he had speche with me of your Lordship, and sayd he thought he was borne to do you and yours good. "But now," sayd he, "I must commytt the oversight of my son and all to him." He likewise spoke lovingly of my Lord of Sussex, with many other things, which for perplexitie and otherwyse I omitt to write. He doubted that he had been poisoned, by reason of the violent evacuation which he had, and of that suspicion acquitted this land,† saying, "No, not Tirrelaghe Lennaghe himself would do no villany to his person." But upon the opening of him, which I coule not abyde, the Chancellor tolde me that all his inwarde parts were sounde, saving that his hart was somewhat consumed, and the bladder of his gall empty.

* There seems to be little doubt that this unfortunate nobleman died of a broken heart, caused by the delays and difficulties which were thrown in his way, in the prosecution of his enterprise. "A very excellent man certainly he was," says Camden, "in whom honesty of manners strove with nobility of birth, both which notwithstanding could not prevaile against envie. For after he was constrained to give up his laudable enterprise in Ireland, he returned into England, having much wasted his patrimonie, where, openly threatening Leicester, whom he suspected to have done him injuries, he was by his cunning court-trickes, who stood in fear of him, and by a peculiar mystery of the court, to strike and overthrow men by honours, sent back again into Ireland with the vaine title of Earle Marshall of Ireland, where, pining away with grief and sorrow, he piously rendered his soule to Christ, dying of a fluxe with most grievous torments."

† It was suspected by some that he had been poisoned by means of his enemy the Earl of Leicester, who was publicly charged with this crime in the famous libel called "Leicester's Commonwealth."

Suche as toke upon them to be his phisitions, as Chaloner, Knell, a preacher, and the deputie's phisitian, called Doctor Trever, applied him with many glisters, and therby filled his body full of winde, which was perceived, so as either their ignorance, or some violent cause beyond their skill, ended his life.

His fleshe and complexion did not decay, his memorye and speche was so perfect, that at the last yielding up of his breathe, he cryed, "courage, courage! I am a soldier that must fight under the banner of my Saviour Christ." And as he prayd alwaies to be dissolved, so was he loathe to dye in his bed, which made me to remember your Lordship's tale of your father. Among others he had care of my seconde son, which is all this while brought up with the yong nobleman his son, without any charge to me, because his mother was a Deverox; and required Mr. Waterhouse to move your Honour that he might still attende on his son, and be brought up with him, wherein I refer his case to your accustomed goodnes. His Lordship commytted to my keping the patents of his creation and contreyes here, and made me one of his feoffees of trust. I hope with the Deputie's favour to turne those landes to a reasonable yere's commoditie to his son. I do sende your Lordship here inclosed the names of suche of th'Erle's servants as were abowte him in the tyme of his sicknes, and served him most painfully and diligently, for which respect I think them worthy the favour of all men.

It is doubted what end the Deputie will make of this great sturr in Conaght.* I humbly thank your Honor for your

* The sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, scarce two months after they had been pardoned for past offences, broke suddenly out into a new rebellion in Connaught, slew the workmen employed in rebuilding the town of Athenry, burnt again the town, and committed other cruel depredations. The Lord Deputy went against them, put their father into safe custody, and drove the rebels to their lurking holes, whence from time to time they issued forth to repeat their depredations.

favor to Cusake of Dublin against his creditors in London. And so having troubled your Honor with my tedious letters, I humbly ende, with my contynuall prayer to God for your prosperitie. From St. Kathrins, besydes Dublin, this last of September, 1576.

Your Honor's most bounden during life,

N. WHITE.

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Upon Sonday last, at sixe of the clock in the afternoone, Mr. Sherriff Kympton and Mr. Sherriff Barnes and I, the Recorder, did repaire unto the Charterhowse, and knocking at the gates, no man aunswered. Mr. Sherriff Barnes by agreement went upon the backsyde to see that no masse-hearers shold escape, and after dyvers knockings at the gate the porter came, being a Portingale who did speake Englishe, and said my Lord was not at home. "Then," quoth I, "let us speake with you, Mr. Porter, for we have brought letters." And the porter aunswered us very stubbornly, and at the length he opened the gate, and I, the Recorder, put in my left legg, meaning to enter in at the gate, and being half in and half out, the porter knowing me very well, saide, "backe, vilane!" and thrust the gate so sore upon my legg, that I shall carry the grief thereof to my grave. Sithens that time my paine hath been so great that I can take no rest, and if Mr. Sherrif Kympton had not thruste the gate from me, my legg had been utterlie bruised into shyvers; and besydes the Porter began to bussell himself to his dagger, and tooke me by the throte; and then I thruste him from me, for indeed he was but a testy little wretche. And so I willed Mr. Sherriff and his officers to stay the fellow from doing any hurte to any other in his furye. After this we passed quietlie, all doors being open, out of the hall up the stayrs, and at the staire-head there was a great long gallerie, that in length stode easte and weste. In the same gallerie all the masse-hearers,

both men and women, were standing ; for the priest was at the gospel, and the altar candells were lighted, as the old mode was. After this we knocked at the utter door of the gallery, and all they looked back, and then Mr. Sheriff Kympton and I charged all suche as were Englishemen borne and the Queene's subjects to come forth of that place, and then came all the straungers coming towards us, some of them beginning to drawe first their daggers, and then after they buckled themselves to drawe their rapiers, and by that time two bayliff errants of Middlesex, whose names I remember not, being at the door, did draw their swordes. And immediately Mr. Kympton caused the straungers to be quiett, and I caused the bayliffs to putt up their swordes. And then Mr. Kympton, with all the masse-hearers, with Mr. Gerraldie's wife, and her maydes, were all in a heape forty persons at once speaking in several languages. And then I sayd to Mr. Sherriff, "I praye you, let you and me make a way for my Ladye;" and so he, making a way before, I kyssed my hand, and tooke my ladye Gerraldie by the hands, and let her owt of the prease to her chamber-doore, and then made a most humbly cursey unto her; and after I put owt my hands to the reste of the gentlewomen, and first kist it, and delyvered them into their chamber also. And then Mr. Sherriff Barnes came into the gallerie, and so we three examined every man what he was, and first suche as were Signor Gerraldie's men we required them to depart, and after many lewde and contumelious words used by them against us, we by faire meanes got them owt of the gallerie into their ladies' lodgyng, and then proceeded to the examination of the straungers that were not of Sig. Gerraldie's howse, nor of his retinewe; and trulie they most dispitfullie, against all civilitie, used such lewde wordes in their language against us, that if our company had understande them, there might have chanced great harme. But in plain termes I said unto them, "Sirs, I see no remedie but you must go to prison, for most of you be free denizens." And then I willed the officers to lay hand on them, and immediately every man, suddenlie, most humbly putt off his capp, and began to be

sutors, and sought favor ; and so upon their submission we suffered them to depart, all saving Anthony Gwarras, who was not willing to go from us, but kept us company.

And all this done, we examined the English subjects, and sent them to pryson, who, to say the truth, provoked the straungers into fury and disorder against us ; for if the Englishmen had according to our direction departed from the straungers and come forth unto us, the straungers had been quiett, and we without trouble. But trewlie the greatest faulte was, that as well the Englishe masse-mongers, as also the free denizens, for the covering of their owne offenses, practised rather to have murther committed then to be taken as they were.

All this while the masse-sayer stode at the northe end of the altar, and no man lyving saide a worde to him, nor touched him, saving that he did give to dyvers of our servants singing cakes, wherewith I was offended with them for receiving that ydolatrous bread. And all being done, and we readie to depart, it was said by a stander by, "If you look in at that door nere the altar," said he, "you shall find a number of masse-mongers." And then did the priest take a keye out of his pockett, and smiling opened the door, and Sheriff Kympton and the priest. loked in, and there was nobody. And then Anthony Gwarras tooke me by the hand to see the altar howe trime it was, for Mr. Barnes and I stode afarr off in the gallerie. And I said to Gwarras, "Sir, if I had done my dutie to you and to the Queen, I had taken two hundreth here upon All Hallowe day last, and as many more upon All Sowles day also." "Ho ! sir," said Gwarras unto me, "become of this religion, and surelie you will like it well, and I will be a redie means to make you a good Christian." And so we went nere the altar, where neither he nor I touched any manner of thing, and so we bad the priest farewell, who gently saluted us, and I suddenlie loking back, saw the priest shake his head, and mumbled out words which sounded *Diable !* and *male croix !* or to that effect. And then said I

to Mr. Sherriff, "Sir, let us depart, for the priest doth curse." And so we departed, and Anthony Gwarras brought us to the utter gate, where Mr. Sherriff and I invited him to dynner with us, but he departed back to heare out the profaned masse.

The foresaid Gwarras, at this business, said that he himself was an ambassador to a greater person then —, and so did shake his head. "What?" quoth I, "do you meane a greater personage then the Quene our mistris." "Na, na," said he, "I meane not so." "No," quoth I, "it were not best for you to make comparisons with the Queen our mistres. Whose ambassador are you then?" quoth I, "the Pope's?" and then he departed further off, in an anger. This Gwarras was a very busye fellow in this action.

Amongest all these straungers I marked one, who is a free denizen, and married to an Englishwoman; he is a broker, and hath his chief lyving by our merchants. This fellowe made himself more busie then it became him.

There was a tall young fellowe, an Italian, that was very wanton with us. And it hath been told me sithens that he and other are kept here for two causes, the one for uttering the Pope's almes and th'other to serve for intelligensers, which I think are very spyes. This youth was very busye, and bare him as though he had bene treading of a galliard.

There was one John Chevers, an Irishman, a student of the Inns of the Chauncery, who, as it appeared unto me, I having a vigilant eye of all sydes, was a great sturrer of the straungers against us. This yong man, when he could not prevayle, then he gate up to the southe end of the altar, and there he confronted the masse-sayer with his cap on his head, who was at th'other end, and stode there as though he had been an Italian. His garments were a cloke and a rapier, after the Italian fashion; and when I demaunded what he was, he bowed on th'one side and th'other, as though he had not understoode me muche, like the fashion of Sig. Gerraldie, by which I did note that he had bene often there.

This is all that I do remember, and in my conscience, as I shall answer before God at the latter day, we used ourselves with suche humble reverence unto the Lady and her familie, as more we could not do unto the Queen our Mistris, save in kneeling. I sent Sig. -Gerraldie word, as I remember, at Easter last, by Mr. Benedick Spinello, that he shold not suffer the Quene's subjects to repaire to his masse ; and other things shold also be amended, wherewith the people did wonderfullie grudge at him. And I am sure Mr. Spinello did my message unto him in a decent order. This is not the first time that his howse hath bene delt withall by the sheriffs. Strompetts have been gotten with child in his howse, and we of the hospital dryven to take order for their keeping. The Masters shall justifie this. I never sawe any embassador sent out of England but that was both wise and virtuous, and was not indebted to any.

And whether Sig. Gerraldie were an ambassador or not, surelie, my Lord, I knewe it not untill my Lords of the counsell had told me thereof, upon Monday last at the counsell borde.*

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My singular good Lord, we departed from your Honor to the court, where we had bene called for ere we came. We were heard as muche as we could saye for ourselffs. My Lords made a true report to her Majestie. At theire returne, they sayd we had done but according to the lawe, yet, notwithstanding, for honour's sake, insomuche as Sig. Geraldo was upon his dispatche, and for that by his good meanes there was an honorable conclusion of trafique brought to passe,

* Signor GERALDI was the Portuguese ambassador, who made great complaint of this infraction of his domestic arrangements, and to pacify him, the Lords of the council called up the recorder, and committed him for a time to the Fleet.

therefore it was thought mete by her Majestie that we shold go to the Flete, and thereuppon at the board we received our warrant to Mr. Warden of the Flete to receyve us. But after that Mr. Sheriff had out of order tumbled out a number of fonde wordes, and sayd that I and others had commanded him to go thither, I was contented to take the matter upon me alone, where in very deed, my Lord, my going was by earnest request of the Sheriff, and especially for that Mr. Sheriff's man, being light fyngered, might take things away. Trewlie, my Lord, that was the cause why I went. And I am not sorye for anything, but that her Majestie shall be offended. If your Lordship had sene the idolatrous dealing, it wold, I am sure, have stirred your Lordship's heart agaynst them more than I can expresse. My very good Lord, I do most humbly beseche your Honor to give all my Lords of the counsell thanks for theyr honorable and most curteis using of me, for trowelie they dyd for me as muche as at that present they possibly might do.

Thus most humbly I committ your Lordship to the tuition of Almightye God, with most humble thanks for your good Lordship's great care of our wel-doings at the court. *Ex Fleta*, 7th Nov. 1576.

Your good Lordship's most humbly bounden,
W. FLETEWOODE.

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, I have, according to the postscript written with your Lordship's own hand, sett downe, I am sure, the very truthe, without adding or informing anything more or less then the simplicitie of the matter now in action. My Lord, I have required Mr. Spinola in times past to give Sig. Gerraldie counsell to amende dyvers things that have been awrye, and especially touching the repaire of those lewde people, the Quene's subjects, that came to his masse. • Sig.

Gerraldie saith to his frendes, that I beare him malice, and did this for malice. My Lord, I refer that to God and to your Lordship's own conscience; and I thank God even from my harte that I never used any man lyving with any malicious dealing. Sig. Gerraldie his faults are suche as that I do not onlie malice but do abhor. Our Lord make him a virtuous man! I do beseech you, thanke Mr. Warden of the Fleete for his most frendly and courteous using of me, for surelie, I thank God for it, I am quiet, and lack nothing that he or his bedfellow are able to do for me. This is a place wherin a man may quietly be acquainted with God. O Lord God! bless your good Lordship, my good Lady, and Sir Walter Myldmay. The 9th of November, 1576. *Ex Fleta*.

Your good Lordship's most bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

SIR EDWARD WATERHOUSE TO LORD BURGHELY.

It maie please your Lordship, I came to this house of purpose to have attended on my Lord of Essex to the burial of his father,* but when I had conferred with such as are about the Earle, and understood by them the tendernes of his body, I durst not consent to take him from hence in this extreme cold weather to so long a journey, but to leave hym here, meaning that his uncle George Devereux shall supply the place of chief mourner. I delyvered your Lordship's letters unto the Earle, which he redde three or four tymes. In the end he said, "I am muche bounde to my Lorde Treasurer; I will write an answer." And because I wold have triall of his witt, I assure your Lordship I left hym to his own advice, saving I said that her Majestie had licenced him to go to the buriall, and that your Lordship and my Lord Chamberlaine were the persons upon whose advices my Lord his father had

* The Earl of Essex was buried at Carmarthen. Sir Edward Waterhouse was the bosom friend both of the Earl of Essex and of Sir H. Sydney.

commanded hym to repose hymself. Upon this he wrote the letter which your Lordship shall receive herewith, without helpe or correcting of one word or sillable.

He desired further of me to knowe the names of his father's principall friends in Wales, which I gave hym. Immediately he wrote two letters of like effect, but in contrary words, to these gentelmen, excusing his absence, and taking knowledge of their good wills to his father, and promising with your Lordship's licence to visit them within a yere or two. He can expresse his mind in Latin and French, as well as in English, verie curteous and modest, rather disposed to heare then to answere, given greatly to learning, weake and tender, but very comely and beautifull. I think your Lordship will as well like of him, as of any that ever came within your charge. His scholemaster, this bearer, was carefully chosen by my Lord his father, out of Cambridge; the chief of the colledge, wherein he is a fellowe, have borne with his absence for the Earle's sake, and now I suppose he is not like to have anie longer tolleration, unlesse it proceed from your favor, or from your aucturity as Chancellor of the University. And forasmuch as changing of teachers do many tymes make confusion among their schollers, and that this is every waie to be liked bothe for his learning, judgment, and acquaintance with the yong Erle's disposition, I am humbly to pray your Lordship's goodnes towards hym.

Divers here have entreated me to be a sutor to your Lordship, that the Erle might remayne here till the end of February, but if your Lordship do not signify your opinion to be so before my returne from Carmarthen, I will then bring hym up according to the former order. And in the meane season I humbly beseech you that my Lord Chamberlain may understand that the Erle goeth not into Wales. So I leave to trouble your Lordship. At Chartley, the 15th of November, 1576.

Your Lordship's bounden and humbly at commandement,

ED. WATERHOUS.

DR. WILSON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

(Brussels, Dec. 3, 1576.—Extracts.)

* * * * *

The state here is very uncertayne, the people everywhere suspicious and murmuring, the magistrates and nobilitie little esteemed, greate wante of money at this present, and yet the campe of the states encreased every daie more and more, and is appoynted to be at Duffeyle, a place by a ryver, halfe waye betwixt Macline, which the states have, and Lyra . . ., where Julian Romero and his companie lyeth. The number of footmen is thought to be 30,000, and the horsemen 4,000. Every landlorde payeth the 20 parte of the lande, and the tenante the 40 parte, for the mayntenance of these warres; the 100 pennie is to be levied throughout the provinces, being 17 in all, wherof 16 are agreed and united together, onlie Luxembourge is not within the accorde of the treatie betwixte the prynce and the states. Meanes have been made to me by the chiefest for monie to be had out . . . at this present, but I answer, that I dare not presume to deale without comission, onlie promising to declare that suche motion hath been, and I would take upon me to be any furtherer. Four Comissioners are especiallie sent to Don John with warrants to deale stoutlie, and to demande thinges with greate vehemence, as by a copie of their instructions maye appear. The Commissioners are those who went after Monsieur de Resinghen, then come newlie from Brysels to Luxembourge, the Marquesse of Haver, the Abbot of Saynt Gheselins, clerke, the Bysshoppe of Arras, Monsieur Lik .., Monsieur Mekerke, and these require a resolute answer by the 12 of this at the furthest. The chiefeste man of wysedome and stomack at this tyme here, is Monsieur de Champeignie, who hath made a discourse of late upon these affayres, which I do send herewith translated out of Frenche into Englishe. The Frenche copies not onlie of these two translations, but also of other ad-

vyses made for Don John in Spayne, to deale with the states here, I have sent to Mr. Secretary, who I trust will communicate all to your Honor, but if you please, this bearer maye suffice for all, if you have leisure, as I praye you most earnestlie so to do, for never was it more meete for the counsell of Englande to be watchful, and careful to the state, than at this tyme. Upon three persons at this tyme all Christendom hath their eyes, and learne to understande their doinges, viz. Don John, W, and the Prynce. And of these three it is hard to say who is most to be doubted for England's welfayre.

* * * *

If the Prynce shal have it,* as he hath Newporte, as indeede he shal, if the Comysioners agree not, it is thought verilie he will come in person, and then the trial wyl be betwixte us there and the Prynce for the best game, without hope of peace or any accorde at all. And surelie if the Prynce with the states had readie monie, it is lyke that some greate ex-ployte would sertainlie be done. And no doubt the Prynce is a rare man, of great authoritie, universallie beloved, verie wyse in resolution in all thinges, and voyd of pretences, and that which is worthie of speciall prayse in hym, he is not dismayed with any losse or adversitie, his state being better now than ever it was. God grawnte that right maie take place, and justice may be done upon earth!

* * * *

SIR HENRY RADCLIFFE TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

It may please your Honor, such newes as I have receaved out of France, I have thought good to advertise your Honor, altho I know you receive the true certificate, and I report but from friends.

* Ecluse.

Upon Thursday last there came a shipp from Deepe, which arrived here upon Sunday, by which I do understand that the French King publisheth and proclaimeth, that there shal be no more preaching of the gospel in his country.* Where-upon divers of the religion be fled, and divers that would fly cannot, for that all the coast of Normandy and the sea coast adjoyning be restrained and stopped. Monsieur Melleroy, the governor of Normandy, doth assemble force for the King. And there hath been brought into Normandy divers bands of soldiers by small companies, which now be discovered. And Monsieur Melleroy hath taken order with Monsieur Sigonie, the governor of Deepe, that there shal be within Deepe four or five ensignes of soldiers, which Sigonie hath agreed to receive. There shal be garrisons also in most townes upon the sea coast.

The Protestants, as many as could get away, be gone to the Prince of Condé, who hath been in Rochel, and taken order there. Monsieur de Montpensier and Monsieur de Bedon being with the King of Navar, to know what he would do, the King's answer was, that if the French King would not keep his promise, he would make war.

There is great preparation made on both sides, and cruel war is thought to follow. The Pope, the King of Spain, and the French King, have all agreed to make the Duke of Guise general of these wars. The Duke Cassimire hath sent word to the French King, that he will prepare a great number of with its adherents, sought by all means to break the peace in France, and by grievous oppression and wrongs, to force those of the reformed religion to put themselves in armes. The King began also to interpret his edict after a strange manner, and far otherwise than was expected by his confederates. Infamous libels were printed, containing villanous matters against the Protestants, and at last it was concluded by the King in the assembly of the States, that there should be none other but the Roman religion within all his territories. Then began the sixth civil war.

* This was the effect of a secret council at Rome not long before, for the rooting out of the blood royal of France, to make way for the House of Guise to take the sceptre. For that purpose, that House,

men of war against him. The merchants and common people of France, upon the sea coast, are at their wits' end for feare of this sudden war towards. There is a prohibition made that no Frenchman be suffered to fly into England. Thus have I certified your Honor of such newes as I have received, altho not confirmed. I humbly commit your Honor to God. From Portsmouth, the 15th of Jan. 1576.

Your Honor's brother, most humbly to command,
HENRY RADCLYFF.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Right Honorable and my very good Lorde, I have hearde of late that your Lordship hath not been well, and that you have kepte your chamber, which I am hartly sorry for; and being desirous to knowe in what case your Lordship is, I have sent to understand the same, wishing to your Lordship not only helthe, but also comferte and harte's desire to you and all yours. I live here lyke a rustyke, and yet I assure your Lordship very well contente therewith, for altho' it be solitary, yet is it quiett. I do nowe finde what delyte and pleasure your Lordship hath had in buylding; for in reforming but a fewe windows and making a seller¹, and some other lyttell necessities, I finde contentation. But if I were able and had suche workes as your Lordship hathe, I shoulde take too muche delyte therein. Of all humours it is the moste pleasurable, I must confesse. And thus, being desirous to heare howe your Lordship dothe, I wishe unto you as to myself, with my wyfe's harty commendations, and myne to my Lady of Oxforthe and my Lady your wyfe, and God's blessing to the lyttell Lady.† From my house at Pettworth, this 22nd of March, 1576.

Your Lordship's cossen ever assured,
H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

* Sir Henry Percy, brother of the rebel Earl.

¹ Cellar.

† The Countess of Oxford's daughter.

MR. HENRY CHEEK TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Right Honorable and my singular good Lord, I am enforced through the malice of some of my countrymen on this side, no less traitors to her Majestie (as I suppose) then enemyes to me, to chaunge the place of my abode, as one looked into here with many eyes, and my use noted of such as mean to entrapp me for the hatred conceived against my name. I have bene advertised of this by a certain English gentilman, who coming in the company of Mr. Stuckley* from Genua to Siena, where they arrived on the 20th of this present, gave me warning to seek some other place, and to look carefully to myself, as one greatly noted of some of my countrymen, who were such persons, and had spoken such words in his hearing as he might not declare unto me in particular. This circumstance gave me great cause to distrust Mr. Stuckley's disposition towards me, and the rather because he has discovered himself here to be a hateful enemy unto your Lordship, whom he knoweth I do, not without just cause, honor as my highest friend.

To avoyd this daunger with greatest security, I thought good to use the counsell of Sr. Lorenzo Guicciardini, brother unto M. Vincenzo Guicciardini, of London, a grave, wise gentilman, very friendly unto me, and of great credit with the Grand Duke of Toscane, by whom I am advised to repayre to Padua as soon as I may, a state of security, and in the mean season to remayn at Ferrara, where I may also for a time live safely. Wherefore, my very good Lord, I am deter-

* Stukeley went from Spain to Rome, where "it is incredible," as Fuller says, "how quickly he wrought himself through the notice into the favour, through the court into the chamber, yea closet, yea bosome, of Pope Pius Quintus." The Pope entered eagerly into all his plans, gave him a high title, creating him Baron of Ross, Viscount Murrough, Earl of Wexford, and Marques of Leinster, and furnished him with eight hundred men, to be paid by the King of Spain for his Irish expedition.

mined not to hazard myself any longer in those states where I can have no surety, but depart to-morrow (God willing) towards Ferrara, following the counsell of that gentilman whose care over me in this case I have found fatherlie; and I am most humbly to beseech your Lordship, when it shall seem good unto you, to give thanks unto his brother for me, for whose sake I have received this great friendship at Sr. Lorenzo his hands.

I wrote unto your Lordship in my letter of the 23rd of February, that it was thought the Turke would invade Malta this sommer, but it is now sayd, that he is so occupied in wars abroad with the Sophi, and visited so at home with the plague, as there is no fear of his coming this year into Christendome.

At this present, as the advertisements were given here this day, Venice and Padua are clear, howbeit it is thought the passages will not be open till the spring be past.

The 21st of this month Mr. Stuckley departed from Siena towards Rome, where he is in great favour with the Pope, who hath employed him all this while, as it is sayd, in Flaunders. As he passed by Florence, he had great conference with the Duke, who did him great honor, as do th'other Dukes of Italy, esteeming him as their compaignion. He is full of money, and mayntayneth his old manner of spending. The night before his going from Siena, he invited all English gentlemen of the towne, saving myself, to supper, but they refused to go unto him.

The 26th of this present, there came an English woman to Siena to pass to Rome, calling herself Mrs. Johnson, a woman about fifty years of age, accompanied with two other Englishmen, whose years between them both scarcely arrive to fifty.

The 21st of this present, also, was brought prisoner to Florence, Piero Ridolphi, one which with a great number of other gentilmen of the greatest howses in this city, conspired to have slayn the Duke and his two brothers about two years

since, but the matter being discovered in time, the most part of them were apprehended and executed. Certayn of them fled, wherof one went into Turky, and was sent back again by the great Turke, at the request of the Duke. This other, Piero Ridolphi, fled into Polonia, and afterwards coming with the King's ambassador to th'Emperor his court, was there espied by the Duke's liger, wherof the Duke being advertised, wrote unto th'Emperor for him, who was contented to suffer him to be apprehended within his dominions, and so carried to the Duke, who hath spent above 40,000 crowns in getting him, hoping to have some greater matter revealed by his meanes. He was a gentelman whom the Duke favoured greatly, and always as his compaignon, and of such welthe, as it is sayd his revenues amount to 200,000 crowns.

There is nothing els, wherof I can advertise your Lordship at this time. Wherefore, praying contynually for the great honor and prosperity of your Lordship and yours, and most humbly beseeching you to continue your Lordship's good favour towards me, as my greatest comfort in my absence, I most humbly take my leave. From Florence, the 29th of March, 1577.

Your Lordship's most ready at commandment,

H. CHEREK.

LORD ABERGAVENNY * TO LORD BURGHELEY.

May it lyke your Lordship to understand that there be certaine of Sir Walter Waller's † men, and other their companions, who have of late fought and resisted the constable,

* Henry Nevil, Baron Abergavenny. His only daughter married Sir Thomas Fane.*

† Sir Walter Waller, of Groombridge, Kent.

and his companie, and hurte one of them, having warrante from me and my sonne Fane and other justices, for the apprehension of them, for that they had disobeyed the Quene's Majestie's lawes; and if they be suffered, that they neyther will obey the warrants of justices of the peace, nor the officers themselves, I referre it unto your Lordship's consyderation what wyll followe.

I delyvered to your Lordship a byll of such disorders, both by him and his men, which, if the pardon had not remytted, wold have proved felonie, as it is supposed by learned men; but because he was a justice of peace, these matters were slipt over. And thus by the meanes that he is a justice of peace, he overbeareth the poor men with such disordinate dealings, both against lawe and conscience. My Lord, evill orders growe apace in this countrye, which, if they be suffered, to what ende they will come, I know not. For we had a murther remitted, and that a wilfull murther, as I am well able to approve; and the matter being examined by a justice of peace, and the partie bound with good sureties to appeare at the next assizes, another justice of peace discharged him cleane, without any knowledge to the bench, or any other, as it was informed to me by the justice of peace himself, who tooke the bands of the parties; and other murthers committed, which, for brevitie, I overpasse, untill such tyme as I wayte upon your Lordship myself.

But when the justices of assize be nothing regarded, but that other justices of the peace shall undo that which they do, my doings and other justices' must nedes be little sett by, as they have bene; for I assure your Lordship, my sonne Fane, Mr. Serjeant Barham, and I, with others, have directed above ten or twelve warrants for the apprehension of these malefactors, as my servant the bearer hereof can declare unto your Lordship, who hath written the warrants, and knoweth the matter, and ever they have bene disobeyed by Sir Walter Waller's men, and by his commandement, as I can well prove.

And when they heare of any warrants out for them, they go straight to Sir Walter Waller's house, and are there harboured, that the constables dare not come thither without danger of their lives, so threatened by Sir Walter and his men, which was not wonte to be used by his predecessors, which dwelte in the house before, for they lyved like subiectes and under lawes.

My Lord, here be many robberies done, many murders, and none taken. The cause why is, that the justices of peace are so lightly sett by, for when one justice of peace shall commytt one to pryson upon disorders, other justices will bail him straight, not knowing the matter.

My Lord, I have bene a justice of peace in Kent these thirty yeares, and my warrants have ever bene esteemed and obeyed untill now, within this twelvemoneth, which warrants, if they have not bene made according to lawe and justice, let me take the reproach therein.

I beseech your Lordship directe your letters downe to some justices of peace within the shire, who, upon your letters, may cause Mr. Waller to send his men to be examined, and if there be not found good matters against them, both for transgressing the lawes of the realme, and also of other disobedience not meete to be suffered, then your Lordship may blame me, when I waite upon your Lordship, if I have not dealte justly in the matter.

I do trust your Lordship shall heare of such disorders done by Sir Walter Waller and his men, that your Lordship will thinke him not meete to be a justice of peace.

Thus, being bold to trouble your Lordship, I bequeath you to God.

From my howse at Comforte, the 8th of April, 1577.

Your Lordship's to commande,

HENRY ABERGAVENNY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My verie good Lord, I have received your letter of the fifte of this presente, in answeere whereof you may please to understand that her Majestie alloweth well of your purpose to remove for three wekes to your house of Chattesworth, for the ayryng of your house of Sheffield in the mean tyme. Howbeit, her pleasure is, that your Lordship forbear to remove, as is aforesaid, untill Mounsieur Vergier be gone away from your chardge, and returned hither, of whose abode there with you her Majestie much marvayleth, thinking that he would have stayed with you not above fower or five days. And so humbly commending your Lordship to God, I take my leave.

(May 9, 1577.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO HIS COUNTESS.*

My swetehart, your true and faithfull zeale you beare me is more comfortable to me than anything I can thynke upon, and I gyve God thanks dayly for his benefits he hath bestowed of me, and greatest cause I have to gyve him thanks that he hathe sent me you in my old yeares to comfort me withall. Your coming I shall thynke long for, and shall send a Fryday your lyttar horses and a Saterday mornynge I wyll send my folkes, because Fryday they wyl be desyrous to be at Rotheram faire.

It appeares by my syster Wingfeld's letter there is brute of this Quene's going from me. I thank you for sending it me,

* This letter is of uncertain date, and is placed here, because Lodge has printed about the same period a similar letter from the Countess to her husband. At the same time it is possible the "brute of this Quene's going," may be the same alluded to by Burghley in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sept. 7, 1577, in Lodge.

which I returne again, and wyll not shew it tyll you may speke it yourself what you heare ; and I have sent you John Knyfton's letter, that Lord brought me, that your may perceiue what is bruted of the yonge King. I thank you for your fatt capon, and it shal be baken, and kept cold and untouched tyll my sweteharte come ; gesse you who it is. I have sent you a cocke that was gyven me, which is all the dainties I have here.

I have wrytten to Sellars to send every weke a quarter of rye for this tenne wekes, which wyl be as much as I know wyl be had there, and ten quarters of barley, which wyl be all that I can spare you. Farewell my swete true none¹ and faithfull wyfe.

All your's,

G. SHREWSBURY.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I am not only to give your Lordship thankes for your goodnes towardses me in your Lordship's house, whereby I am bounde in duty to your Lordship, but also for your Lordship's great care of placing me here in the University, where, for your Lordship's sake, I have bene very well entertained both of the University and of the towne. And thus desiring your Lordship's goodnes towardses me to continue, I wishe your Lordship healthe, with the continuance of all honour.

From Trinity College, in Cambridge, the 13th of May, 1577.

Your Lordship's at commandement,

R. ESSEX.

¹ Own.

EDMOND HOGAN TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Maye it please your Majestie to be advertised, that after your Highnes sent me, being directed unto the King of Barbarie, with your Majestie's commission signed, delyvered unto me, I prepared myselfe for these partes, imbarcking at Portesmouth the 6th daye of Maye, and the . . . of the same month arryved on this coaste of Barberie at a porte of the King's called Caphia. I remained aborde shipp in the roade, and wrote letters to Marocus, where the King keepe his courte. And at the ende of five dayes, the King being informed of my arryvall, sente certayne captaynes, with soldiers and Englishe merchautes, to me, for to bring me up to his courte, declaring that he greatly rejoyced to hear from your Majestie. So as the first of June I came to his city of Marocus, and uppon the way, by his order, mett me all the christian marchautes, and neare to the citty some of his court, who declared it was the King's pleasure to honnor your Majestie all he could devise, and therefore thought it good I should come to his presence. So to his pallace I was brought, and to the presence of the Kinge, sitting in his chaire of estate, and his cownsaillors being as well Moores as Turkes, standing abowte hym. I dutifully delyvered your Majestie's letters, and declared my message in Spaynish, which albeit he well understoode, he cawsed me to make relation what I said in their language, as the Moores mighte understand the same. And after the Kinge, giving great thanks to your Majesty, declared that he with his countrie and all thinges therin should be at your Majestie's commandement as with his honnor and law. I aunswered, your Majesty reserved the same, as by your Highnes' letters he shoulde perceive.

Theareupon, I being conducted to my lodging, being apoynted of . . . with necessaries, accordingly the same nighte he sente for me to the courte, whereas he had long conferance with me, declaring that the Kinge of Spayne had

sente to hym for lycence that he mighte send an ambassador hither, which request that his honnor wolde not gyve anywise to anie that did not come from your Majestie, which licence he had graunted. "But," sayd the Kinge, "when he cometh he shall see that I make more accompte of you coming from the Queen's Majestie of England, then of anie King of Spayne; for I wyll use hym after the use of some places in Christendome, to tarrietwenty dayes before I speake with hym; for that the King cannot governe his own countrie, but is governed by the pope and inquisition," which religion he doth wholly mislike of. Fynding hym to be a very earnest protestante, of good religion and lyving, and well experimented as well in the Old Testament as New, with great affection to God's trew religion used in your Hyghnes' realme, I fynde hym willing to do good to your marchauntes more then to anie other nation, and not to urge any demaunds to your Majestie that maye tende to your dishonnor or breache of league with other christian princes. Wherin, as appertayneth to my duty, I specially regarde. He is nott yet all in quiett within his countrie, for the blacke Kinge kepeth in the mowntaynes, being of small force.* Thus praying to the Lorde for the preservation of your Majestie's royall estate and honnor, longe to governe.

From Marocus, in Barberia, the 11th of June, anno Domini 1577.

Your Majestie's moste humble servaunte,

EDMOND HOGAN.

DANIEL ROGERS TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Right honourable, I have written at large unto your Lord-

* There were at this time divisions in the kingdom of Marocco, of which the King of Portugal in the year following thinking to take advantage to his own aggrandisement, went with an army, and perished there.

shipp in my former letters, touching my negotiation with the Prince. As I was even readie to depart from Enchusen, he sent for me againe, to imparte unto me suche letters as presently he had received from Bruxelles, subsigned by the Comte of Egmont, Monsieur D'Aussy, brother unto the Counte Bossu, Counte of Lantkercke, Monsieur de Heze, Baron Merude and Berelle, as also to shewe me suche letters as Aldegonda wrote unto him from Bruxelles. The contents are worthie of your Lordshipp's knowledge, and therefore, although I was redy to depart, I thought it my dewtie to write them to your Lordshipp. First they thank the Prynce for imparting unto them the letters intercepted and decyphered: since which tyme Don Juan should have taken the towne of Namure, and placed Monsieur de Floyon his regiment as well in the towne as in the castell. That by the meanes of Monsieur de Leieges he had lykewise obtayned Carlemont and Philippeville, townes heretofore builded by the Prince, and by him named, at the Emperor's commandement. That Don Juan had written unto the estate, howe that he understoode that the estate went abowte to imprison him, wherfore for his safety he had taken the above-mentioned townes. That the state had answered he had no just cause to suspect any such matter, and because they had great occasion given them to suspect his doings, they willed him to returne incontinently to Bruxells. In the meanwhile the abovenamed Lords counsell the Prince to assure himself of Amsterdam, and to surprendre (if it were possible) the townes of Boldur and Breda, where the Allmaines are in garrison to prevent such mischiefs as were at hande, that they meane with the firste to sende one unto him to communicate the affayres farther unto him, and to knowe his wise advise. In Aldegonda's letter was comprehended all that he had negotiated with the above-mentioned: as also howe he had with him Champigny untill thre of the clocke in the morning: that it were not yet concluded amongst them with whom he had dealt, whether he should make the Duke of Arskot acquainted with the letters

intercepted. That the gates were well garded at Bruxelles, that none went forth without passport. That he had conferred with Count Lalaing, Monsieur de Montigny, the Counte's brother, Monsieur de Capers, and Monsieur de Frazin: he advertised the Prince, how Don Juan had failed in intercepting Maestricht, which he thought to have obtayned by the helpe of the Duke of Arskot, who, with his brother, the Marquis of Havrech, followeth Don Juan. That the prince of Chimay is going towards Andwarpe to assure himself of the castell and towne: that some of the estate had sent thither to wynne the captaines.

Item, that they have sent to Machlin, Monsieur de Montigny to be assured of Gonney and La Mote. Furthermore that the Count of Lalaing came to conduct the Queen of Navarre through his government, that the said Queen councelled the Count to go to his force, for that Don Juan mynded to surprise him: that she should be sorrie if any thing came amysse unto him whilst he was awaiting upon her.

Item, he wrote unto the Prince howe that the estate councelled him to surprise Barronne: that Billy alias Robeloz and Mondragen were at Namure.

Item, that the Counte Mansfeld was a returning to Don Juan.

Item, that the estate had written to Monsieur de Ville, the Count of Hockstrat's brother, who was as yet at Machlin, that he went not to Don Juan, but should thinke to return to his government in Frislande: that Barlemont were not at Bruxelles, but at the bathes. Allagond, beside these, councelled the Prince to come to Gertrundenberg to th'intent he might the better provyde for all thinges, as he mynded to do. In summe, I perceive the warre is begunne. The Burgmaisters there understanding these newes, desired the prince he wolde give them leave to molest them of Amsterdam; if they tooke it not in a moneth, they would loose their lives. The Prince, to save time, meaneth not to stay for him whom the estate promised to send, but this daie dispatcheth Taffin to

the estate and counsell there from him to look well to Maes-tricht, and to see how they may assure themselves of the castell and towne of Andwarpe: if they see difficulty in taking the castell, that they forthwith divide the castell from the towne by making of a trenche; and because they ought as good as six millions of gold unto the Allmaines, he counsellet them to employ the said summe to the driving them out of the countrey. Thus he thinketh good the estate and him to levy 3000 reisters, for which purpose he meaneth to send the Count of Holleck into Germany: if they shall understande that Don Juan makes a levy of reisters, forthwith to send for 5000 reisters more: and these thinges he meaneth not to write, because he knoweth not fully their determinations. One thing I will add, and trouble your Lordship no longer, which is, that the Emperor's ambassador remaining at Constantinople hath advertised the Prince that the King of Spaine hath made a league with the Turck for five years; that before this the Emperor had attained a league of eight yeares: wherefore the King of Spaine wil be busy in other places as your Lordship shall understand by the letters intercepted. Thus I leave to trouble your Lordship with my scribled letters, beseeching the Almighty God, that it may please him to strengthen your Lordshipp, and to prosper all your good endeavours.

From Enchusen, this 26th of Julie, 1577.

Your Lordshipp's most humble at commandement,

DANIEL ROGERS.

The Prince is marvelous gladde of the newes herein containned, and especially because he having followed and observed the peace, Don Juan shal be knowen to have broken it, which wil serve to declare his innocency and bring Don Juan into the greater hatred with al men.

Right honourable, I have upon occasion of such newes as are come out of the Low Countries commended Colonell

Chester unto the Prince and the estats to th'intent, if the Prince commends any Colonell unto the estates general, his excellency would have a regard to avance of him that way, which I thought good to lett your Lordshipp understande.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My good Lord, I have shewed your letter to her Majesty, who did take your great care to have her welcome to your house in most kind and gracious part, thanking your Lordship many times: albeit, she saith very earnestly, that she wil by no meanes come this time to Newhal, saying it were no reason, and less good manners, having so short warning this year to trouble you; and was very loth to have come into these parts at al, but to fly the further from the infected places, and charged me so to let your Lordship know; that by no means she would have you prepare for her this time. Nevertheles, my Lord, for mine own opinion, I believe she will hunt and visit your house, coming so neer. Herein you may use the matter accordingly, since she would have you not look for her.

And now my Lord, we all do what we can to persuade from any progress at all, only to remain at Winsor, and therabouts. But it much misliketh her not to go somewhere to have change of air. So what wil fall, yet I know not, but must like to go forward, since she fancieth it so greatly herself. The infection at Oxford and the countrey falleth out to be onely at the assizes gotten;* for none others either

* This strange infection happened upon the hearing of the cause of one Jenks, a seditious bookseller, when on a sudden, almost every one that were present in the court fell sick and died within forty days; as namely Bell, the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Robert Doyley, Sir William Babington, Doyley, the High Sheriff, and many others of the best

of the towne or countrey are touched, but those present there at the gaol delivery. And of all that fel sick, few recovered, nor any that keepeth them or cometh to them take any infection at all. And so God keep your Lordship as I wish myself.

In hast, this 30th of July.

Your Lordship's assured,
R. LEYCESTER.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELY.

Right honorable and my very good Lord, yesterday being Monday was the Mercer's feast, where were the Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir William Damsell, and Mr. Sackford of the privy-chamber. And there were we all very merry, and then (as the manner is) we fell a talking from one matter to another, untill we came to your Lordship being at Buckstons.¹ And I tolde them then that I was to write privately to your Lordship; and they requyred me all to commend them unto your good Lordship; at which time the Master of the Rolls (who is no wyne drinker) did drink to your Lordship a bowle of Reynishe wyne, and then Sir Thomas Gresham drank another, and Sir William Damsell the third, and I pledged them all. At the same feast, Sir Leonell Duckett was chosen master, and dynner being done (as the order is) we brought the master home to his howse, where we had a great and a royall bankett.² And that done, I walked to Powle's to learne some newes, where came sodenly into the church* Edmond Downyng; and he told me that he quality in the county, as Wenman, Harcourt, Fittiplace, etc. There was this also peculiar in this infection, that no women nor children were seized by it. The papists represented it as a miraculous visitation of God upon their persecutors.

¹ Buxton:

² Banquet.

* St. Paul's was the great resort of idlers, news-spreaders, and news-gatherers. See vol. i. p. 347, note.

was even then come out of Worcestershire, and that my Lord Chief Baron died at Sir John Hubard's howse, and that he is buryed at Leicester. And he said that the common speache of that contrey is, that Mr. Serjaunt Barham shold be dead at Worcester; but that is not certen. The like report goeth of Mr. Fowler, the clerk of the same circuit. He told me that Mr. Davers, Mr. Doyly the uncle, and Sir Roberte his nephew, Mr. Thomas Wayneman, Mr. Symon Harcourt, Mr. Babington, Mr. Mychaell Nasshe, and a number of other gent that were at the gaole-delivery at Oxon, are all dead.

The inquest of lyfe and death are almost all gone. Such clerks, servants, and yong gent, being schollers, as were at the same gaole delivery, are either dead or in great danger. Mr. Solicitor's sonne and heire, being brought home to his father's howse at Woodstocke, lyeth at the mercy of God. Mr. Attorney's sonne and heire was brought very sick from Oxon to his father's house at Harrow, where he hath bene in as great danger of death as might be, but now there is some hope of amendment. The gaole-delivery of Oxon (as I am told) was kept in the town-hall, a close place, and by the infection of the gaole (as all men take it) this mortalitie grewe. This muche for yesterday's newes, being Monday.

Upon Sonday last I rode over to Harrow to see Mr. Attorney's sonne, where I found Mr. Attorney and Mrs. Gerard and all their household in helth, saving the yong gent, who I trust is on the mending hande.

Upon Saturday last, in the afternoone, we had an oyer and determiner in the Guyldhall, the which we use to hold in the vacation tyme to kepe the people in obedience. There was, besides us of the city, Mr. Southcott and Mr. Leiftenant. Upon the forenoone I sate in the Duchie, where I did arraine a cutler, a neighbor of your good Lordship, for bawdery. Thus much shall serve for the occurrents of Saturday.

Upon Fryday last we had muche busines. The subsidy for the borough of Southwark was sytt upon, and the subsidy for Middlesex, and the musters, were sitt upon at the Justice-

hall. There were two letters considered of that came from the Lords of the Councell: the one touching the number of ale-houses in Middlesex and Dover haven, &c.; and the other for the avauncing of archery, &c. The same day we examined certain roogs and masterles men. This shall suffice for Fryday.

Upon Thursday there was nothing ado, but preaching of sermons, and at my parishe churche the Deane of Chester did preach. And thus much for Thursdays.

Upon Weddensday was arrayned in the Guyldhall one Hayward, an imbrotherer, a servant of my Lord Wentworthe's; at which tyme the statute made in the 18th of this Quene for the supposed father's getting of children was put in execution, th'example wherof will do mucche good here in London. This shall suffice for Weddensdaye.

Upon Tuesday we had little or no busines, saving that the shomakers of London having builded a faire and a newe hall, made a royal feast for theire frends, which they call theire howse-warming.

Upon Monday here fell a mischance betwene two of my Lord Chamberleyn's men, and the one of them was killed in Powle's churche-yarde. Thus much for Mondaye.

Peradventure your Lordship wold knowe how myself is occupied. I am in very deed, my Lord, at the presente, at the request of dyvers of my frends, setting downe an order how justices of peace shall use themselves in theire offices.* I am, thanke God, in the midst of my travell, and I hope within this month to make an end, for I have collected all my matter, and it wanteth nothing but good disposition. Thus most humblie I take my leave of your Lordship. At Bacon Howse, in Foster-lane in London, this 30th of July, 1577.

Your Lordship's most humble,

W. FLETEWOOD.

* This book was printed in 1657, under the title of "The Office of a Justice of the Peace." 8vo.

SIR ROBERT BOWES* TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

It maye please your Honor, your packett to the Regent, with a letter to myselfe for convoy of hawks, sent by his Grace to my Lord of Leicester and yourselfe, I received yesterday ; and this day I have sent that packett to his Grace.

The Regent hath sent hither four casts of Scottish fawcons, whereof two casts are to come to my Lord of Leicester, one to my Lord of Hunsdon, and another to yourselfe, all which I have sent forwards by myne owne servant, that shall bryng them, I trust, safely as they be directed.

By former advertisements I have signified by intelligence gyven me, that the colonell and captains of the Scottish bands in Holland, upon the casshing of the same, were enter-tayned with pension by Don John.

I might, therefore, by the generalitie, suspect both Captain Bawfowre (whom you call Baford) late colonell of those bands, and also Molyns, whose name I suppose is Harratt. But fynding the grace gyven to Bawfowre by her Majestie, with your owne good opinion towards hym in your last letter, I condempne my judgement towards hym, and still contynue in suspicion of Molyns.

Their doyngs herein may most readily be discovered where they served, and here I will do myne endeavor to sound and fynde out the same, the best I can.

The Regent kepeth good helthe, declaring hymselfe well affected to followe her Majestie's course in all fortunes ; he is greatly disquiet by the incessant spoyles on the seas, which might seeme to be practised to breake the amytie of the realmes. He hathe much to do, to pacifie the myndes of that people, being greatly alienated, and almost desperate of redresse.

There is no further mention of matters of religion sithens my coming from thence, but matters lying over in myslyking, and that nation not destitute of malecontents. There be some

* Sir Robert Bowes was now ambassador in Scotland.

that wishe change of government, which in the scarcity of fitt heads to enterprise the same, is still lyke to be yet deferred.

The Lord Seaton with unaccustomed bravery is departed towards the Spawe for his helthe. The favourers of their Quene do say that oportunity well serveth in these dayes to worke her good; but they groane to fynd that procede and prosper no better.

The Carres* have bene at Edenburghe at a lawe-day to pursue the slaughter of a Carre, slayne by the Rotherforthes, and the Turnbulles, (whom the Lord Angus semeth to favor,) but the matter is adjourned to a newe day.

The Lord Maxwell contynueth in warde, upon suspicion of intent to arise troubles on the borders. Thus ceasing further to trouble you untill newe occasion, and wishing shortly to heare from you in the cause commended unto you by her Majestie to be delyvered to me, I pray God preserve you in honor and contynuall wellfare. Barwicke, the second of August, 1577.

Your Honor's wholly at commandement,

ROBERT BOWES.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, upon Michaelmas-day at night, Mr. Thomas Dudley shewed me the end of my Lord his master's letters, what fault he found with the Duchie touching the plague. His Lordship offred very honorablie to give as muche as any shold give for the relief of the sick. He threatened Ledsham the bailiff, who is his man, to pluck his coat from his back, and to punish him otherwise for his negligence. And yesterday, at my Lord Maior's, at dyner, the Master of the Rolls privatelie shewed unto me the end of your Lordship's letters, much to the same effect that my said

* The Cars were a border clan.

Lord's were of, but there, instead of Ledsham, your Lordship touched me. My very good Lord, I have weekly myself surveyed the Duchie, and have taken that order there, that if the like had been executed elsewhere, I thynk the plague had not so greatly increased as this last week it did. And trulie, my Lord, I did twice passe with all the constables betwene the barres and the tilt-yard, in both the liberties, to see the howses shutt in. The Master of the Rolls is very wise and circumspect, and I a very foole, for I am sure I did go myself to see things effectually done into such places as (be it spoken without offence) neither he nor my cousin Holcroft the bailiff wold or durst do.

Upon Thursday last, Mr. Garter and Northway,¹ not as kinges but as frendes, with Mr. Thomas Pole, and myself, were at Romford at the burying of Mr. Cade of the Duchie, which did weare blacks. At dyner, Mr. Pole taryed not, for he had taken a great surfett with eating of fresh pork the day before at the Musters. The Deane of Powles preached. At the sermon was my worshipfull friende Mrs. Cook of Gwydyhall, and her gentelwomen and trayne, but she wold not tary dyner. Katheryn Carus, the late justice's wiffe, my contrywoman, with all her pryde and popery, is this week gone (as I trust) to God. She died in Bishop Thirlby's chamber in Mr. Blackwell's howse in the Black-fryers.

Your Lordship may think it strange that yesterday morning at four of the clock I was at London, and at seven with Mr. Secretary, and then againe at London with the Master of the Rolls at my Lord Maior's at dyner, where I sawe your Lordship's postscript touching the Duchie.

The citie do use to allow me horses to the court; they provyded for me posters betwene London and Waltham, and according to their posting pace, I used them betwene London and Wyndsor.

At my Lord Maior's there dyned the Master of the Rolls, Justice Southcot, Sir William Damsell, Mr. Levetenant, Sir

¹ Norroy.

Rowland Hayward, Mr. Justice Randall, Alderman Pallison, and myself.

After dyner, we heard a brable betwene John Wotton and the Levetenant's sonne of the one parte, and certain freholders of Shordyche, for a matter at the theater. I mistrust that Wotton will be found in the fault, although he complained.

My Lord Treasurer, that dead is, gave me the Stuardship of Farnham Ryall besides Wyndesor, after the death of Mr. John Nudigate. The fee is 20s. per annum. Mr. Receyver of the Duchie wold nedes have it from me. My Lord gave me faire wordes and promises that I shold have a better in Buckinghamshire. I yielded up my patent to my Lord, and after was fayne to kepe the court myself untill Mr. Receiver had gotten a sufficient Deputy. My Lord, it is now void, and if it may stand with your Lordship's favor to let me have it againe, I will assure your Honor I will deale trulie between her Majestie and her tenants, and accompt myself most boun-den (as I am indeed) to your Lordship. My Lord, I was once Stuard of Sct. Helen's tenure in Dochett, hard by Wynd-sor. John Thomworth wold never cease untill he had wrong it out of my handes, and that was done by the counsell of Ockam, who was the chief director in those things.

My fellow Lloyd told me that your Honor's pleasure was that I shold write of such things as fell out here, and therefore I am the bolder to let your Lordship to understand of things that are but mere imaginations. My said fellow Lloyd is wonderfull well liked of here amongst us.

Upon Tuesdie last my Lord Keper cessed us the Commissioners, even as we were cessed before, and gave us the same allowance for complaints that we had the last tyme.

There is a broile of excommunication betwene the Archb. of York and the Mynster of Duresme about the visitation. I think my Lord Archb. is in the wrong. My Lord Keeper graunteth forth a commission for the same cause. The rumor is here that Mr. Justice Sowthcot or Mr. Jefferies shal be Chief Baron. The talk goeth here also, that Mr. Captain of the

Gard* and Mr. Doctor Wylson, shal be of the counsell, the one Vice-Chamberlayn, and the other Secretary. It is also said that the Master of the Rolles, Mr. Horsey, Captain of Wyght, Mr. Dyer, and Mr. Doctor Lewys, shall be of the privy counsell. These matters have occupied Powles all the last week. Every honest man here is desirous that her Majestie shold aide the Prince of Orange. Sir John Clyfton's wife, my contriewoman, is dead in child-bed. He is a sorrowful man. She was the virtuousest lady that ever I knew to come either out of Hornby or Lathom. I wold to God her sisters had ben like her. Sir John Clyfton is presently at Elyng Parsonage, near Braynford, which was once your Lordship's, with my cosen William Fletewood, who married wydow Copston, being Sir John's systyr.

The session is at Newgate to-morrow; the gaole is full. At the last sessions there were executed eightene at Tyborne, and one Barlow, borne in Norfolk, but of the house of the Barloos, neare Manchester, in Com. Lanc., was pressed. They were all notable cut-purses and horsstealers. It was the quietest sessions that ever I was at. There were no more justices but my Lord Maior, Sir William Damsell, and myself. There was playne dealing, and neither favor nor partialitie. They were the most notable theefs in this land. The court was at WyndSOR. There was not any reprieved.

My Lady Alyngton is here in London, sick. Here be no noblemen, but my Lord Wentworth. Thus most humbly I take my leave of your good Lordship. This first Sondag after Michaelmas, at Bacon House in London, 1577.

Your Lordship's most humble,

W. FLETEWOODE, Recorder

* Sir Christopher Hatton.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, yesternight being Saturday, Mr. Doctor Masters supped with me, and did a message from your Honor unto me touching a robbery, by the same token that I had not writen to your Lordship of a long tyme. The thieves that committed this robbery are well known to the justices of Newgate; they have enjoyed the benefitt both of the Quene's general pardon and speciall. If they come near this citie, I am sure to have them.

My good Lord, this last week the Marquis of Haver* was right honorably feasted upon three severall dayes by the Lord Maior and the two Sheriffs. Although Mr. Sheriffs made unto him two notable feasts, yet my Lord Maior did farr surmount them. At my Lord Maior's and Mr. Sheriff Bacchus', the Marques and his company were very mery, and told us many stories, how convenient it was that there shold be amitie and alliances betweene England and Flaunders. But at Mr. Sheriff Bowyer's the Marquis and his companie were very sadd, and used nothing the like mirthe as they did before. In his retinue there is a talle yong fellow that is a fryer, and, as it is said, confessor to the Prince of Orange his sonne in Spayne. This fryer is a very busie inquisitor of every thing; he useth to go to the lectures, and hath his trenchman with him. He frequenteth the Royall Exchange and Powle's, fense scholes, daunsing scholes, bowling allyes, and the shoting pricks; and also the beare-bayting at Parrys Garden, and all other places where he maie learne or see any noveltie.

Anthony Gwarraas required me very earnestlie that your Lordship wold vouchsafe to remember him; his onlie hope and trust is in your Honor, (as he said). I answered him I knew not his case, and therefore I wold advise myself very well ere I dealt in a matter that I knew not. By a late ex-

* The Marquis of Havrec and Adolph Metherk were sent over by the States to borrow money of Elizabeth, and to obtain all other aid they could. See in Camden an account of the confederacy which was formed with them.

amination, taken by me, of a man of his called Damian Dela, (which I did by Mr. Secretarie's commandement,) I finde that he hath not a groate to bless him withall. His yerelie pension from King Phillip is 500 ducketts, the moitie whereof hath bene stayed by the Treasurer of Arragon these three yeres, and th'other moitie this twelve monthes. His household stuff is not worth 40s. He is in mine opinion *Iro pauperior*, and were it not that libertie is swete, I know not where in his owne country he shold have the like entertainment. I beseech your Honor, pardon my boldnes for dealing in this matter, wherein it doth not become me to medell.

I had forgotten Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir William Damsell, Mr. Lievetenant and others of like calling, were invited to accompany the Marquis of Haver, but they came not. The Marquis was very desirous to have seen the ladies of our citie, but they had no great devotion to see him.

Ever sithens the week before Michaelmas, I have been toiling almost both day and night in compounding a generall table for the whole body of the common lawe, that I maie turne to anything at the first that is sett downe in our books of the common lawe, the which work I have almost overcome. This travell hath so withdrawn me from all things, that surelie it was the onlie cause that hath hindered me from writing any drearie matters of all this time unto your Honor, but surelie, my Lord, in my foresaid travell I have found out such strange and rare things in the lawe, that I never either marked in reading, or heard any other tell of. If God had blessed me with that leysure that others have that serve the Quene, I could (with God's help) bring forth very straunge matters. And now do I learne, after thirty yeres' study, that our forefathers were marvelous depe and profound learned men.

After that I had written, my very good Lord, the first page of this letter, there came in one unto me, being the eldest sonne of Sir Thomas Lee, late Alderman, whom his father hath disinherited. He told me he had a brother that is com-

mitted unto perpetuall prison in Spayne, he suspecteth the colour to be religion, and yet he is a notable papist; but the cause is for that Anthony Gwarras, having bought a shipp called the Clock, delyvered his brother eight score pounds to entertayne marryners to serve in the same shipp against Flushingers, the which thing his brother did not so well performe as Gwarras looked for. He tells me for a certaintye, that Gwarras every night after the day was past, had repairing unto him at least twenty, thirty, or forty, that brought him intelligence of all things that were eyther done, spoken, or intended. His manner was to let them sytt or walke in his hall by dark, without candel-light, for he never useth candell beneath, but all above. And Damian his man was his currier, to call up every man. I will do the best I can to learne who are Gwarras' spyalls, for I perceive now that Damian told me not half that I examined upon. There was one Frenche, that dyed of the plage within these three dayes, that was his chief spyall, and also his bawde. This Frenche had a very faire wife, *quam exposuit* to the stylyard men, and sometye to Acerbo and to others. She was daughter unto one Ellys Halle, the which, about twelve yeres past, came from Manchester to London as a prophet, and for that cause was commytted to Brydewell, and there ended his lyfe. This daughter of his is as notable a curtesan as ever was Lais.

And thus, being over bold with your Lordship, I most humblie take my leave. This Sonday at night, the 10th of November, 1577. At Bacon Howse.

Your Lordship's most humble,

W. FLETEWOODE.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELY.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, the cause why I have not written unto your Honor a long tyme touching

the confederates that intended the robbery at your Lordship's howse, was, for that I could by no means get any thing from them by examination, although Croker very constantly alwaies affirmed the same. The said Croker was a condemned man, and of no creditt. But nowe, my Lord, you shall see what is fallen out. Two nights past it came into my head, as I satt in my study, to know what common fashion was kept in Smythfield and St. John's Street this Christmas. And hereupon I sent my warrant to make a pryvy searche; in which searche were found a number of masterles men, who were brought before me the nexte daye to be examined, amonges which number there was one Yeamans, whom I knew not. All the residue very well knowne unto me, with whom I toke order, but as touching Yeamans, who had many frends to speak for him, my stomack grudged agaynst him, and therefore I sent him to Newgate. There were of the Quene's men with me treating for him, and in the end waxed very warm with me, because I wold not discharge him. This Yeamans, as sone as he came to Newgate, and his name entred in the book, Croker standing by, affirmed that Yeaman's name was called Bullays; and it was he that was sought for by Mr. Recorder, for that the same Bullays could make declaration of the confederacy touching the robbing of my Lord Treasurer. Whereupon the keper of Newgate brought him and Croker unto me, and in the presence of the Quene's men and others, I examined him, and he hath confessed, as by his examination herein inclosed, wrytten with myne owne hand, may appere.

This Bullays, Croker, and Sweeting, that I kepe in Bridewell at work, know nothing of any parte of your Lordship's howse, nor are not acquainted with any of your family, but as I can perceave, Pendred, the two Smythes, and Carles, are acquainted with sundry parts of your Lordship's howse. I beseech you, my Lord, let me know your opinion what is now best to be done, for I meane once againe to examyne them over, and then by th'advise of the justices to procede

against them at the next sessions, *tanquam confederatores et insidiatores populi dominæ Reginæ*. I beseech your Lordship send me back this examination, if your Lordship mynde that I shall procede any farther against them, because it is subscribed with testimony. Thus most humblie I take my leave of your good Lordship, this 7th of Januarie, 1577.

Your Lordship's most humble,

W. FLETEWOODE.

This twelfth day, my Lord, I kept my auditt for the coseners. To-morrow I intend to do the lyke for the cut-purses, that I may know what new be sprung up this last yere, and where to finde them if nede be. And after them I am to deale with the receivors, and gage takers, and melters down of stolen plate, and such lyke. Here have I sent your Lordship inclosed a mynute of the state and commonwealth of the coseners.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO SECRETARY WILSON.

I am here welcoming my frendes, which I do as Mr. Tresorer, and not as Francis Knollys, but I must returne to Francis Knollys agayne, when Mr. Tresorer shall depart from me; and yet this welcoming of my frendes doth not so possess me, that I can forgett her Majestie's safety, the which at this present doth consist in vigilant care, in good foresyght, and in tymely prevention of her Majestie's danger. And Saynt Pawle speaketh of faythe, hope, and charitie; so saye I, that there remayneth vygyllance, foresyght, and prevention, but the chiefe of these is prevention, because virtue doth consist in action, and prevention is the tymely action of vygyllancy and of good foresyght.

Her Majestie knoweth that I am loath to offend her, and I do know that her Majestie is loath to heare me; and indede my speache hath no grace worthie of her Majes-

tie's ears; God hath denied it me, and therefore I am the more silent, altho when I may be heard, as my grosse memorie doth serve me, rather then my silence shold be gyltie of her danger, I do utter my unworthie speeche unto her Majestie.

I do know that it is fyt for all men to give place to her Majestie's wyll and pleasure, and to her affections, in all matters that touch not the danger of her estate; but I do know also that if her Majestie do not suppress and subject her own wyll and her own affections unto sounde advice of open counsayle, in matters touching the preventing of her danger, that her Majestie will be utterly overthrowne. For who woll persiste in gyving of safe counsaye, if her Majestie woll persiste in myslyking of safe counsaye? Nay, who woll not rather shrynkingly (that I may say no worse) play the partes of King Richard the Second's men, then to enter into the odious office of crossing of her Majestie's wyll?

The avoyding of her Majestie's danger dothe consyst in the preventing of the conquest of the Lowe Countries betymes; secondly, in the preventing of the revolte of Skotland from her Majestie's devotion unto the Frenche and the Quene of Skottes; and thirdly, in the tymely preventing of the contemptuous growing of the disobedient papistes now in England to her Majestie and to her lawes, synce refusing to pray for her Majestie, and also open treason, dothe followe thereuppon.

And also if her Majestie wol be safe, she must comforte the hartes of those that be her most faythfull subjects, even for consyence sake. But if the Bishopp of Canterburie shall be deprived, then up startes the pryde and practyse of the papistes, and downe declyneth the comforte and strengthe of her Majestie's safety. And then King Richard the Second's men woll flock into courte apace, and woll show themselves in theyr colors. From which cumpanye the Lord blesse her Majestie, and the thynking thereon doth so ahorre me, that I am more fytt to dye in a pryvate lyfe, than to live a

courtier, unless a preventing hart may enter into her Majestie betymes.

At Greys, the 9th of Januarie, 1577.

P.S. I pray you hyde nothyng of my letter from her Majestie.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO RANDOLPH.

Sir, this night we have received advertisement of th'overthrowe of the States' Campe,* wherefore among other things it will be thought requisite that you use as much diligence in your journey as may be, whereof I have thought good to give you knowledge, to th'end you may dispose of your things accordingly. And now you may make accompt that her Majestie will not sticke at money, considering how much it standeth her uppon to assure Scotland. Thus I commit you to God.

From Hampton Courte, the 4th of February, 1577.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO RANDOLPH.

Sir, what the present state of the Low Countreyes is you may see by these enclosed and last advertisements from thence. We are here now in dailie and earnest consultation what is

* The battle of Gemblours, gained by Don John of Austria, who had broken the pacification which he had entered into with the States. The latter were thrown into the greatest consternation, and the dissensions amongst themselves, and between them and their allies, produced much confusion.

best to be done, in which generallie I see all my Lordships inclyned to one course for her Majesty's safetie, if it please God to inclyne herself to embrace and followe the same.

After you have had conference with Mr. Bowes, and by him shall be thoroughly informed of all things, who will also acquainte you with that I have now written to him, I feare me you shall deale with one whom you are to hold as a wolfe by the eare, according to the old proverbe. Therfore I pray, after you have uppon conference with Mr. Bowes well sounded him, at large and with as much speede and playnesse as you can advertise hitherto in what good or badd termes you find him, that accordingle deliberation may be had here, and direction given from hence to you there. Whether this man whom you are to hold hardlie and dangerouslie do stand upright with her Majestie and her realm, or waver, or be cleane fallen away, you are thought the most apt and likely man either to continue him in a good course, or to reduce him to the right way; and therefore, knowing as you do how necessary the amyty betwene these two crownes is, and how requisite a person this man (held now somewhat doubtfull) is, for the preservation of the same, though I wish you to write speedelie and largely how you find him disposed, yet I would not that yourself make any haste to returne hither, but rather tarie there untill some good and sure league of amyty may be concluded on betwene both realmes, wherin as my desire is great, so is my hope no lesse, but by your good and discrete dealing it wil be brought to passe.

By the next I shall be able to acquaynte you with our thorough resolution for forreyn causes.

In the meane time I praye God prosper your doings there as may be to God's pleasure, her Majestie's satisfaction, and the benefit of the two crownes.

At Hampton Courte, the 20th of February, 1577.

Your cosyn and assured frende,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Commende me to my nephewe, Mr. Alexander Haye, and

to Mr. Nicholas Glynston. In no case salute Captain Colburne, who is decyphered to be a Marianiste.

RANDOLPH AND BOWES TO THE TWO SECRETARIES.

(Edinb. last of Feb. 1577.—Extract.)

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It is not unknowne unto your Honors of what nature this people is of, loathe to obeye, and ready upon anye occasion to myslyke: it is incident also to autoritie that the hygheste in place beareth the greatest blame. Of small sparkes are raysed often tymes greate flames.

Myslyking there is of the Regent for his coveitous humor, and strayght dealing, where he maye either by lawe or color gette anything into his hands, whereof he distributeth agayne so lyttle, as fewe for services passed are rewarded, or little given to any. Suspicion also there is, that underhande for his private affections he nourisheth the dyscords amongst sondry nobles that many well deserve. This moveth many bothe to liberall speeche, and maketh them wyllingly to take any occasion, that may be offered, be it either to his discredit or displeasure otherwaies.

The Earles therefore of Argile and Athall being lately reconciled betwene themselves, and now joined in a strayte league of frendship, greatly mysliking the Regent's government, have lynked unto them some personages of the house of Marre to favour their faction, which tendeth to some great inconvenience, if in tyme it had not bene foreseen, and remedy provyded by the Quene's Majesty our soveraigne.

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SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO RANDOLPH AND BOWES.

Sir, by letters received verie latelie from the borders, I understand of the deposing of the Regent,* which you wrote of before was intended by the contrary faction. Their civill and domesticall broyles come very evill to passe in this combustion abroad: the tyme requireth an unitie and perfect agreement rather in them that make profession of that trewth which is elsewhere impugned, and hathe somightie enemyes, and so cruel warres in kindling against it in their dayes amongst our fellowe members abroad.

Our unitie mighte be strengthe to ourselves and an ayde unto our neighbours, but if we shall like to fall at division among ourselves, we must needes lye open to the common enemy, and by our owne faulte hasten or rather call uppon ourselves our owne ruine: both parts I knowe will and may pretend mayntenance of the gospel, and entertaynment of good amity with her Majestie and crowne. If the same be performed indeede, and their effects be answerable to their outward pretensions, they are like to reape the better fruite of their actions, but yet it cannot be where offended myndes are, and displeasures conceived in the one against the other, but there a thirde faction shall have the better entrance to worke his purpose. And they that are entered into jealousie are not so apte to joyne together as otherwise they wolde, if they were soundlie affected one towards the other.

But it is greatlie to be doubted that the secrecies of this

* The unquiet state of Scotland gave much uneasiness to the English government this year. The Regent Morton had by his government given great offence to many of the Scottish nobility, who accused him of sacrificing every interest to his own avarice. He was deposed chiefly by the means of the Earls of Argyle and Athol, but he afterwards regained in a great measure his former power, until, at the end of the year following, the King assumed the government himself, although little more than a child.

practise is deeper rooted, and hathe a farther intent in it, then the removing of one man from his government, whose carying of himself in his regiment could not be so evill as the sequell of this action maie bring danger.

The waie is easelie opened to division. Gappes and breaches made in state, are not easelie stopped, and seldom soundly. But seeing they are fallen into this inconvenient, that they are now more subject to those inconveniences which discorde and division breedeth, then before, it shall behove them specially whom God hathe appointed watchmen over that piece of his house, to mediate as much as they can that unitie maie be mayntayned, that the profession of the gospell and the free course thereof be not interrupted, that good regarde be had amongst them to continue their good amity with their friends which make the same profession as themselves, that they suffer not themselves to be carryed by sinister practises to anie course that maie prejudice the good estate thereof, whereuppon dependeth the welfare of the cause of religion amongst them, and of the crowne and realme.

And to this effect you shall do well to persuade with the ministers and others, that are best affected, to be good instruments that waie, and to be very carefull thereof, seeing they are so nigh to danger.

This I thought good to imparte unto you, for the good wish to that state, and benefit of bothe the realmes, and the dutie I owe to the advancement of the kingdom of God, and maintaynance of the same within this isle, which God graunte we may holde, and leave to our posteritie to be inherited and possessed by them as the greatest and beste parte of their inheritance. And so I leave you to the grace of God.

From the Courte, the 16th of Marche, 1577.

Your assured loving friende,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.

It may please your good Lordship, on Saturday last, about sixe in the morning, the Earle of Mar, accompanied with the Abbots of Dribrough and Cambiskinneth and their servants, ordinarilie lodged in the castle at Sterlinge, came to the castle gate with pretence to go on hunting, and finding there the master and his servants, the abbots called the master aside, chardging him that he had muche abused the Earle of Marre his nephewe, and farre oversene himself in withholding the custodie of the King and castle from th'Earle. The master, after reasonable excuse made, founde that they pressed to possesse the keyes and command the piece, and reaching himself to an halberte, his servants came to assist him. Driborough and some with him stayed the master. Cambiskinneth and his complices assaulted the rest, where Buchenan, one of the master's men, was sore hurte. After the fray pacified, the master and th'Abbotts withdrewe themselves to the hall to debate the matter; and Argile, being then in bed, rose spedelye and came with a small number to the hall, where, hearing that the master and th'Abbotts were in quiet communication, he retyred himself to his chamber and arming himself he assembled his servants, that with the master were able to have overmached th'other. But the master being then fully satisfied, Argile was sone after appeased, and then yelding possession for th'Earle, they agreed at length to remove thence and drawe to concord, specially to satisfie the King, who of the tumult as is reported was in great feare, and teared his hayre, saying the master was slayne And, as I am informed, his Grace by night hath bene by this meanes so discouraged, as in his slepe he is therewith greatly quieted.

After all this was ended, th'Earles of Argile and Marre, the master, the two Abbots, and Mr. Buchanan, advertised by their letters this counsell of this accident, declaring that

the parties were well reconciled, and persuaded the counsell to proceed forwards in the course determyned for the government, as no such matter had happened.

Argile departed out of the castle, and he is now gone to levye his forces, minding to returne within two dayes at the farthest.

In this uprore th'eldest sonne of the master was so crushed in the thronge, as he died the next daye. The master is fallen into vehement disease, with daunger of his life.

Upon the coming of the said letters from Sterlinge, on Saturday, about nine in the afternone, the counsell assembled, and after some hot humours digested, they dispatched Montrosse that night towards Sterlinge, to understande and certifie to them the true estate of the matter, to persuade quietnes about the King's person, and to continue this present government established untill the next Parliament. Montrosse, after longe abode at the Lord of Levingston's house, came to Sterlinge on the next daye, and was receaved into the castell. He putteth the counsell in good hope that the matter is well pacified, and that this government shall not by this accident be impeached. Whereupon the moste parte of this counsell, pretending to have the King's letters commanding their repayre to him, are departed this day towards Sterlinge. But what shall ensue hereof is greatly doubted.

Loughleven being spedely advertised of the doings of the Abbots, came the same day to Sterlinge, and with some difficulty, as was outwardlye shewed, was let into the castle with one servant, whom presentlye he returned to Loughleven to the Earle of Morton, and himself remayneth still in the castle.

Th'Earle of Morton, upon the first advertisement, came to Loughleven, dispatched his servant to th'Earle of Angus to put all his friends and forces in a readiness on an hour's warning, and many noblemen being frends to these two Earles have done the like. Nevertheless, they shewe no force nor assembly as yet.

The Lords of the counsell have likewise levyed all their powers, drawing some parte with all possible speede towards Sterlinge, and leaving the residue in readines upon warning.

Some be of opinion that the counsell wil be readily receaved and welcomed to the King and to all the castle, without further change. And many think that by the meanes of the Abbots, the Kinge shall cause them to retyre themselves to their owne howses, till his pleasure be farther knowne; and in case they disobey, the same then to laye siege and take the castle. That then the King will cause the Earle of Morton and other nobles to levye their power within the realme, to raise the seige, and rescue his person from their violence.

What storme shall fall out of these swelling seas doeth not yet appeare, but I think verilye within three or four dayes it will burste into some open matter, discovering sufficientlye the purposes intended. Wherein to my power I shall seke to quench all violent rages, and persuade unity and concorde amongst them, which, if this sodaine chance had not happened, might have easely taken place. Thus, referring the rest to the next occasion, and with my humble duty and service to your good Lordship, I pray God preserve the same in honor and perpetuall felicity.

Edinb. the 28th of Aprill, 1578.

Your Lordship's wholie bounden and at commandment,
ROBERT BOWES.

JOHN BARKER TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.*

Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, my humble dutie considered, etc. with the Jonas, the Emanuell, and other

* The noblemen of Elizabeth's reign speculated much in the foreign voyages and trade. Many letters of the Earls of Leicester, Shrewsbury, &c. are preserved, concerning their shares in these voyages, and one or two are printed in Lodge.

shippes of London, who departed here hence a few days past, I wroth to your Lordshipp of the nedefull, bothe of the estate of this contrie, as also of your Lordshipp's busines that I have to deale for, since the which there is small alteration eyther in the one or other. As yet I cannot bring the prise of your Lordship's pipe staves above 40 ds. per thousand. There is not left unsolde above sixtie thousand. By the vintadge, I dowte not but to sell all that is here; I have sold none this 20 days, becawse I wold reere the prise, which I will do if I maye possible. There is newes here of certain hulckes which do come hither with tuns, as they say, through the which as yet they do stave from buying, but if there come none suche, then I dowt not but to sell the tuns that are left at a good prise. I will, as neere as I can, God willing, use all thinges to your Lordshipp's most profit. I meane to lade for your Lordshipp the first of the vintadge to the valew of three thousand ducketts, and I hope we shall make good employments, for that a more plentifull yere towards of wines hath not bene seene of longe tyme. Oyle is dearer then it was, by reason of great winds that hath bene in this contrie, which hath beaten the berris off the trees. I do send your Lordshipp in this shipp, the Mathew of London, two dosen of cordevant skins, and two payre of silke hoose. I had eight payre made, and none was to my content but this two payres. I mean to go to Granada this somer myselfe, where I will provide your Lordshipp of those that shall be verie good, but dowtless there is no good works made in this contrie. They make things substantially, but nothing handsomely. Here is not at the present anie news to write your Lordship, butt that for anything we can understand, the Kinge of Portugall dothe go for Barberie, and Stuckley with him. There is here and in Jubelalter 40 gallies of the King of Spayne's, staying for his coming. As I can understand of anie other thinge worthy the wryting, I will advertise your Lordship from time to time, and not having farther to enlarde for the present, I rest, praying unto the Almightye God to grant your Lordship

long life and good helthe, with much increase of honor, to God's pleasure. From St. Lucar de Barameda, the 10th of June, anno 1578.

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

JOHN BARKER.

DR. WYLSON TO ———.

I have receaved letters this daie of the 11th and 12th of Maye from Lysbone, wherby I understande Stewkeley's purposed voyage to Ireland is altered, to serve the King of Portugale agaynste Africa,* muche agaynst his wyll, but the King wyll have it so. Hereupon Stewkeley hath sent a post to the holy father, returnable in twenty daies, to declare of this alteration. The King was moved at the first to ayde this enterprize agaynst Irelande, and because the great galyes that Stewkeley came in did fayle, therefore he was desired by the sayde Stewkeley to ayde him with shippes, and other thinges necessarie for the warres in Ireland, but the Kinge answered that he was in amytie with Englande, and therefore wolde not deale that waye, but contrarywyse seeing hym

* Stukeley, with his Italian forces, at the encouragement of the Pope and the King of Spain, landed in Portugal (on his way to Ireland) just as Sebastian, with two Moorish kings, was preparing an expedition into Africa, to dethrone the Emperor of Morocco, where they persuaded Stukeley to accompany them. There Stukeley is said to have shown both wisdom and great bravery. On their arrival, he counselled the kings to repose and refresh their soldiers before they advanced, but the King of Portugal was eager to pursue his object, and in the great battle of Alcazar, in 1578, the Portuguese army was destroyed, and Sebastian, and the two kings his companions, slain. Stukeley also fell, fighting bravely at the head of his eight hundred Italians, after he had been overpowered by multitudes. The old ballad of Stukeley's adventures, already quoted, represents him as falling by the hands of his men, who were enraged that he had taken them from their hopes of Irish conquest, to perish by the hands of the infidel.

to have good store of corselets and other munitions, with shippes and men, hath seized upon hym and his company to serve in Africa. And which the Quene's Majestie understanding, I do feare the shippes wil be stayed, although I do thynk it most necessarie they should go to the seas to create a terror to James Fitzmorys, and pyrates that are upon the coast. Thus expecting your Lordship's coming, I will cease to write more at this tyme. From the Court, the 14th of June, 1578.

Your Lordship's most assured to commande,

THOS. WYLSON.

It is thought the Kinge is now readie to sette forthe, his Duchemen being come to hym abowte the 6th of Maye last.

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, sithence my laste writing to your Honor, it so fell out upon Fridaye laste that upon the banck syde two fell owt, and the one charged the other with being upon Sunday laste paste at Monsieur Malvesour's the Frenche ambassador, at masse. The matter was brought to me. By examination I found it to be trewe, and the partie offenders wold not be knowen of any one. But he sayd that there were divers Englishmen there, whom he knewe not. Upon Sunday laste I sent two or three thither to masse, and they told me that all the doors stand open, and all men may come in at their pleasure to the masse. This last Sunday, at afternone, a Welshman of Brecknockshere, being an old servingman and also being a stubborn rude fellowe, was there at masse. I have hym in Newgate. He will not be knowen of any that were there. He wold fayne have denied his being there; but my proof went too stronge. There was Lewis de Hays, a Spaniard, who is a common dicer and haunter of tables,

and besydes a free denizen ; this man was at masse there. I have told hym that I will inform the Lords of the Counsoll of his misbehaviour. He cannot deny his being there. Dyverse Englishmen were at the masse, but they tarried dynner at the ambassador's, and were not sene to come forthe ; there was, as I learne, secret intelligence given them. Don Bernardino de Mendoza dyned at the ambassador's yesterday ; there was a greate feaste and plentie of redd deer and other venizen. Monsieur Malvesor's lady, his wife, departeth towards Fraunce to-morrow, being Tewsdaye.

Upon Monday laste, the Frenche ambassador was all day at Mordaunt's place, now St. Barthelmewe's hospitall, with Monsieur Mendoza.

Peradventure there may some rumour come to your Honor's hearing how that my ladie Sir William Morgan's wife, upon Saturday at night, withowte anie man of her owne, accompanied with a gent. of my Lord of Pembroke's, and one Mrs. Cowt, went by water, betwene nine and ten upon Saturday at night, from the Blackfryers to Buckhurst stayers, and there landed and tarried a pretty whyle. This being brought to my understanding by one Iremonger, her Highnes' barge-man, I caused him to go with me yesterday, being Sunday, unto my Lady Buckhurste, to know of her ladyship whether my sayd Lady Morgan that laste night before had been with her ladyship or no. My Lady Buckhurste told me that she had been there, and no further then beneath in the garden, and so tooke her leave to go to Mrs. Altham in Essex, to her mother, and I being thus aunswered, did satisfye my sayd intelligenser, with greate thanks for his vigilant care that he had to her Highnes, whose sworne servant he was, for he thought verilie that my Lady Morgan was gone to the Frenche ambassador, which fell not owte so, wherof I was very glad.

Here have we come unto us the Abbot of Dumferning, whom my Lord Maior and I appointed to John Dymmock's house, in Fanchurche strete. My advise was to place hym there, because it is neither neare the water syde, nor yet in any

out corner, as Geraldie's lodgings is in the west, but in an open strete, *et hoc absque postica*. Surelie, my Lord, if there were no wiser men then I, all the ambassadors shuld be lodged either in the Sadler's hall, or in the Mercer's hall, or in the Grosser's hall, the which halles are all in the Cheape-syde, in the face of all the world.

Upon Friday laste, my Lord of London, my Lord of Wentworthe, and Mr. Levetenante, (but the Master of the Rolles was absent) did assemble at my Lord Maior's, in assistaunce for good order shewed furthe in the Lords' letters. Sir Thomas Gresham, the Deane of Westminster, Mr. Justice Southcote, Sir William Damsell, and others were wont to be of the number. But surelie, I think these were forgotten at the writing of my Lords their honourable letter. And even at the instant writing herof, there be four students of the howses in Holborn brought before me for being in the streets yesternight, at seven of the clock, each of them with exceeding verie long staves, and in the end of every staff a long pece of a sworde blade. They are of good howses, and because I feare my Lords our assistauntes wold be over hard with them, being all under twentie yeres of age, I have, after twenty-four houres imprisonment, shaken them uppon, and sent them to their principalls to be better looked unto.

My Lord John Kirby, that buylded the faire howse upon Redwell green, is dead; so is Fairfax and Bowes, all riche men that died of surfaite.

I shewed unto my Lords our assistauntes those points that your Honor in tyme past gave us for good order, playes, unlawful games, fence-skoles, vacabounds, and suche like to be suppressed, with a vigilant eye to the playe, to the watches, and to lay often privie searches. At our laste privy searches, Mr. Fisher and I toke above sixty roges, being all of the countrie; we have sent them all away at their perils, and yet some were well whynned. As touching Abraham the rider, if your Lordship's secretarye had not come with hym, I assure your Honor I would not have sene hym. By my next letters

I shall send your Lordship all my mynd touching this matter. Thus most humblie I take my leave of your Honor, at Baçon Howse, this 21st of Julie, 1578.

My Lord Keeper, my Ladie, and all the howse, are come to London this night.

Your good Lordship's most humble,

W. FLETEWOODE.

W. DAVISON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lorde, since my last, wherin I advised your Lordship of th'attempt and cold success of th'enemy uppon the camp of the states,* we heare he hath withdrawn his whole forces betweene Lovain and Tillemont, having sustayned greater loss in that skirmish than was esteemed by 6 or 700 men, amongst which are divers whose names we can yet (not) particularly learne.

* The following account of this attempt is given by Camden. "Out of England were now gone over the seas John North, the Lord North's eldest son, John Norris, the Lord Norris's second son, Henry Cavendish, and Thomas Morgan, colonels, with very many voluntaries, to lay the first foundations of military discipline. Don John, burning in desire to charge upon the estates' camp at Rimenant, or to provoke them to battell before all their succours were come together out of France and Germany, posted thither sooner than was expected, and when the horsemen that stoode centinell presently gave backe, he pursued them with a hot and furious charge, as if he were assured of the victory. But they soone resumed their courage, and repulsed Don John's men, who, turning aside, endeavoured to breake through certain hedges and coverts, where the English and Scottish voluntaries were quartered, but could not, being most manfully received by the English and Scots, who throwing off their clothes by reason of the great heat, fought in their shirts trussed up between their thighs. Norris, the general of the English, fighting very valiantly, had three horses slain under him, and got great commendations in this battell by his martiall valour, as did also Stuart, a Scottishman, Bingham, lieutenant to Cavendish, and William Markham."

This Bingham was Sir Richard Bingham, whom we shall find afterwards distinguished in Ireland; and Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have been in his company at the battle of Rimenant.

To which repulse is since added the loss of Arschot surprised yesterday morning by the Viscount of Gand, with 2000 horse, and 2 or 3000 footemen, who offering to assault the towne within one parte, to draw th'enemye to the defence thereof, the gates were opened by the burghers to ten compaynes layd in ambascado on the other syde, who entering the towne put the garrison to the sworde.

The taking of this place, though it import little in respect of the strength, is of some moment to the states, as well for their reputation, as for the commodity of the scite, which will avayle them much for annoying the rest of the townes at th'enemye's devotion being upon the same ryver.

The D. Casimire cometh very slowly forwards, having not yet passed the Maese.

The French commissioners are appointed to depart this day towards Mounts, ill satisfied with the dealing of the states, who have remytted their determyned answer till they heare from their provinces, without whose speciall direction they pretend to have no authoritie to conclude aught in this behalfe.

The Duke's force are affirmed to be increased in Haynault to 2000 horse, and above 4000 footemen.

The states of that province have utterly protested against the request not long since presented to the archduke and counsell of estate by those of the religion, and it is not without suspicion that they will use the same matter as a lawfull pretext to disjoine from the rest of the provinces, in case they be not seconded by them in their treaty with D'Alençon.

Other matter I have none presently worthy your Lordship's reading, of whom I most humbly take my leave.

Andwarpe, the 8th of August, 1578.

Your Lordship's most humbly bounden,

W. DAVISONE.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very goode Lorde, I wyll not trouble ye with any longe dyscourse of these matters in Skotlande, because your Lordship is to see Mr. Bowse's letter which I send herewith, only I do send your Lordship here inclosed the articles of their agreement. And surely, my Lord, if they had gone together, as they had done if Mr. Bowse's greate travell and circumspecte dealing had not bene, there had bene suche a slaughter as wolde not a bene appeased in Skottlande this many yeres. For the malyce of the Lords and theyr adherents, especially the Wardens of Tyndale and the Marshe and theyr bands, which was their greatest force and beste appoynted, was so greate against Morton, and were so desyrous of revenge, as it was a very harde matter to stay them.

They of the Marshe made them a standard of blew sarce-net, and in it a chylde paynted within a grate, with thys speeche out of his mouthe, "Lyberty I crave, and cannot hyt have." They semed to answer under it, "Eyther you shall have hytt, or or we wyll dye for ytt." So as though their malice to Morton was their quarrell indede, yet they made the detayning the King was their colour.

My Lord, the Quene's Majestie hathe now bothe the sydes at her devotion, and the party of Atholl and Argyle more in shew then the King's syde, for the King's syde termes the others Englishmen, becawse they were contented to put their whole cawses to her Majestie, which the other Lords being required of Mr. Bowse to do the like, Morton utterly refused the same, saying that the King and hys counsell wolde ende them. But if Mr. Bowes erneste travell, and some other meanes had not taken place, it was very like that Morton had bene harde bested, for although the King's syde were something more in number, yet were the others better chosen men, far better horste and armed, and besydes few of them but eyther for theyr owne cawses or their frends bare Morton a deadly

hatred, and so were desyrus of revenge, which was but in few of the King's againste any of the other Lords.

I pray God her Majestie do so deale now, having bothe the sydes at her devotion, as she may kepe them bothe, which surely she may easily do if she wyll.

The King hathe sent her Majestie fyve caste of fawcons; I wolde be glade that her Majestie wolde remember hym with some token.

Thus have I troubled your Lordship more then I meant to do, and so commytting your Lordship to the Almighty.

At Barwicke, the 19th of August, 1578.

Your Lordship's assured frend,

H. HUNSDON.

LORD BURGHELEY TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My very good Lorde, a few lynes, where the matter is not unpleasant, may serve for a long letter. By letters which I received within this three hours at London, I am certainly advertised that Don John de Austria is dead of the plague,* and the Duke of Parma chose lieutenant. The report of the death of Sebastian, King of Portyngall and of two Kings of Fess is trew; a cardynall named Henry, of the age of 67, is to succede, but he dare not take possession of the crown untill the Pope shall license hym.† From my house at Thebalds, 8th of October, 1578.

Your Lordship's assured,

W. BURGHELEY.

* Don John died at his camp near Namur, on the 1st of October. Other causes of his death were assigned.

† Henry reigned over Portugal two years, and on his death the kingdom was seized by the King of Spain, and the next heir, or pretender, Antonio, took refuge in France.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, if it be good to have these countries possessed by the Frenche and alienated in good will from the crowne of Englande, then have you returned Mr. Sommers with a very good dispatche; but if nothing can be more prejudiciall to the state of the realme then such a resolution as may minister just cause of alienation, then have you committed a most dangerous, I will not saye an irreparable, error. For surely these people meane no longer to depende upon your uncertainties, who are the more grieved, for that they shall be forced thereby to have recourse to a most perillous remedy, such as may be termed *medicina morbo deterior*. We do what we can to helpe the matter, and to stay them from taking any degenerate course. We put them in some hope that uppon our returnes, when her Majesty by us shall be thoroughly informed of the state of their affairs, she will take some other resolution, that shall be to their comforte; which though it breedeth some contentment in them for a tyme, yet when they weigh the uncertaintie of your former proceedings, and howe subject they are to changes, and how dangerous it is for certayne diseases to be relieved by uncertayne remedies, they then despaire to receive any goode from thence. Her Majestie shall never have the like occasion offered to do them good, as she might by yielding the relief they demanded, the estate of their affaires standing then uppon making or marring. Seeing your proceedings with them of Scotland, by sending away their ministers discontented, maketh me the lesse to wonder at your dealings with those of these countries, yet the consideration of both doeth give me just cause to thinke that there hangeth over that realme, which hitherto hath bene blessed under her Majestie's government with a rare quietnes, some most fearfull storme; and the rather I am led so to conceive, for that I am informed by Mr. Sommers that no prynce could be more faythfully and earnestly dealte withall

by counsellors, then her Majestie hath bene by hers, wherin he telleth me no man could treate more effectually then yourself. When the advise of grave and faithfull counsellors cannot prevaile with a prynce of her Majestie's rare judgment, it is a signe that God hath closed up her heart from seeing and executing that which may be for her safety, which we, that love her and depende of her fortune, cannot but with grieve think of. Particularly my Lorde Cobham and I have cause to think ourselves most unfortunate to be employed in a legation that is like to have so hard an issue. But I hope the world can witnes, that there lacked no good will in us to do that which dutie and our calling required. Thus, wanting presentlie any other matter to imparte unto you, I commit you to God's protection. From Antwerpe, the 9th of September, 1578.

Your very loving assured frende,

FRAN. WALSYNGHAM.

DR. WILSON TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My verie good Lord, I tolde the Queene's Majestie of the last newes I did write to your Honor, which was of her Highnes' healthe, the which selfsame news I do write now to your Honor, and praye God you maye stil heare none other newes. As for myself, I have not bene wel synce your Lordship's departure, and therefore the lesse able to advise you of things most needeful.

The Frenche ambassador stil solliciteth the sute of Monsieur, and Monsieur de Symiers, chief darling to Monsieur, is thought to be on his way hither for that purpose.

This daie the Spanysh ambassador had audience of her Majestie, but I was so evil disposed that I could not tarrie to speak with him, and therefore I did not understande the cause of his coming. To-morrow the Portingale ambassador

cometh with a new commission from the new King,* as it is supposed.

The meeting upon the borders betwixt the guardians of Englande and Scotlande for controversies and disorders to be ended, is put off by the Kinge from the tyme appoynted, being the 8th of this monthe, until the 9th of December next, which is much mysliked of our guardians.

I do sende to your Lordship the newes of the Low Countries, suche as I received latelie, herewith inclosed, and with the same several letters to your Honor. Amongst other things I am informed that the Commissioners appoynted to deale with the Deane of Durhame, can hardly agree amongst themselves for his deprivation, because he is no Minister lawfullie made, whereas for other matters they are contented to deprive him, and so he shal be in lesse hazard of farther losse, and the Archbysshopp worse lyked for depriving a preacher. The 15th of this monthe is the tyme of his appearance at Yorke, the Commissioners in the meane season being smally esteemed of some, and they that were most forward to advance it, almost defaced. This I write to your Lordship of knowledge, which is not tolerable. I am right gladde that my good Lord of Warwicke hath his health so well, which God continew, praying you to do my humble commendement to his Lordship, to my Lord of Pembroke,† and to that good ladie, his honourable wife,‡ for whose sake you are all the merrier there, and so I bid your Lordship most hartelie farewell.

* King Henry, the Cardinal, who succeeded Sebastian.

† Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded his father in 1570.

‡ The famous Countess of Pembroke, sister to Sir Philip Sydney, and consequently niece to the Earl of Leicester. She was one of the most accomplished women of her age, and celebrated by the wits and poets whom she patronised. Her brother dedicated his *Arcadia* to her.

From the Courte at Richemonde, the 9th of November, 1578.

Your Lordship's most assured,

THO. WYLSON.

SIR ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

It maye please your good Lordship, at the last convention at Sterlinge, the King by his minority revoked his former graunte of th'earldome of Lennox, given to the Bishop of Cathnes, and in recompense thereof, gave to the said late Earle, then absent, th'earldome of March, continuing him still to be one of the counsell, thereby to retayne his vote in counsell and parliament for the advantage of hymself and his friends.

After the King made Monsieur de Aubigny Earl of Lennox,* giving to him that earledome, and the custodie of the castle of Dumbarton, which D'Aubigny had left in the keeping of the Laird of Drumwhessell, former keper of the same. D'Aubigny is also called to be one of the secret counsell, and carryeth the sway in courte.

By the small assembly at this convention, it is adjorned unto the 10th of Aprill next, at Sterlinge. And because it is suspected that the Earle of Morton had held sondry noble-men back with himself, therefore the King will write more earnestlie for generall appearance at the next. And that partye at Sterlinge are bent to sollicite all their friends to the same, where it will appear what weather shall followe these gloming clowdes.

* Esme Stuart, nephew to Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who was the grandfather of King James, with whom he soon became a great favourite. "The surname D'Aubigny had been used by the younger brother of this family ever since 1422, when Charles VII. of France granted to John Stuart the territory of Aubigny in Berry."—*Lodge*.

The griefes betwixt th'Earles of Morton and Argile still increase, the rather because it is latelie seen that Argile gave to the King the late information against Morton, wherein Argile beginneth to discover himselfe more playnely than before. And of these discords most men think that great evil shall spring.

The agreement betwixt th'Earles of Morton and Angus taketh no full effect, for notwithstanding the labor of the mediators and the former towardnes, yet they can live scarcely reconciled.

The poysoning of Atholl * is meant to be brought againe into question and tryall, and sondry are of opinion that the matter shall be discovered. The Earl of Morton, and many with him, do earnestly withstand the returne of Sir Thomas Carre into that realm ; and it is found strange that D'Aubigny, being so nere in bloud to the King, should advance the calling home of him that was present at the slaughter of the King's grandfather and his uncle. †

March 29, 1579.

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Right Honorable and my very good Lord, yesterday being Sondag, at twelve of the clock, Nicholas Mounslowe, a draper of this city, and brother to Alderman Kympton's wife, falling into desperation, hath stricken himself into the stomach with a knife, wherof he is dead. He lived an howre after he was hurte, and was in a great desperation. A great payns was taken to make him call upon God, and with mucche ado he called to God for mercy, and so departed and ended his life.

* After a reconcilment between Morton, Argile, and Athol, they all met at a feast given by Morton, and Athol dying suddenly soon after, it was generally attributed to poison.

† The old Earl of Lennox, murdered in 1571, while Regent of Scotland.

The idol that he took for his God I have sent here unto your Lordshipp. It loketh rather like the figure of a divell, than a saynt. Thus most humblie I take my leave of your good Lordshipp.

This Monday morning, the 6th of July, 1579.

Your Lordshipp's most humblie,

W. FLETEWOODE.

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON TO LORD BURGHELEY,

AT HOLDENBYE.

My singular good Lord, I yield you as frendly and thankefull a welcome, as may be given you by any man, or in any place in this world. I feare me, that as your Lordship shall find my house unbuilt, and very far from good order, for the newenes you shall find it dampishe, and full of evell ayre, whereof I pray God your helthe be not impeached.

Before God, Sir, I take great comfort of your most honorable curtesie, to visit your poore frend in so kynd manner. I pray God I may deserve it by my trew service towards you. I humbly beseeche you, my honorable good Lord, show your opinion to the surveyor of suche lack and faults, as shall appear to you in this rude building; for as the same is done hitherto in direct observation of your house and plotts of Tyballs, so I earnestlie pray your Lordship that by your good corrections at this tyme, it may appear as like to the same as it hathe ever bene meant to be.

I beseeche you, Sir, use patience in your too rude enter-taynment, and thynke how much he doth honor and love you, that wold have wished it to have bene muche better and fitt for so honorable a personage.

Your Lordship will pardon my lack of presence to attend on you, because you know my leave cannot be gotten. God bless you for ever! my good Lord, and a thousand and ten thousand tymes I humbly byd you welcome.

Mr. Secretary telleth me, he hathe written at large our

newes unto you, and therefore I will no farther trouble your good Lordship. Her most excellent Majestie hath good helthe, God be praysed for it, and hath commanded me to write her most gracious and loving commendations unto you. Order is in part given to prepare agaynst Monsieur his coming. And thus, my honorable good Lord, I humbly byd you my dewtyfull farewell.

Greenewich, this 9th of August, 1579.

Your Lordship's most bound,

CHR. HATTON.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, I maye not passe out of this good house, without thanks on your behalf to God, and on myne own to you, nor without memory of her Majesty, to whom it appeareth this goodly perfecte though not perfected worke is consecrated; and all this I do in mynde largely conceive, and in writing do meane but to touche, because I am hastened to Northampton, and I will reserve matter to enlarge at my returne to yourself. I came yesterdaye in the afternone to your house with Sir Walter Myldmay, who came with very good will to visite this house. I was first met on the waye with Mr. Colshil and your good uncle Mr. Saunders, your cosen Mr. Tate, and others, and then with a great multitude of your gentilmen and servantes, all shewing themselves, as by your directions, glad of my coming. But approaching to the house, being led by a large longe straight fair waye, I founde a greate magnificencie in the front or frontispiece of the house, and so every parte answerable to other, to allure liking. I founde no one thing of greater grace then your stately ascent from your hall to your greate chamber, and your chambers answerable with largeness and lightsomnes, that truly a Momus could finde no fault. I visited all your roomes high and low, and only the contentation of myne eyes made me forget the infirmity of my legges. And where you were wont to

saye it was a yonge Thebalds, truly Theballs I like, as my owne, but I confesse it is not so good as a module to a worke, lesse then a paterne, and no otherwise worthie in any comparison then a foyle. God sende us both longe to enjoye her for whom we both meant to excede our purses in these. Aud so I ende, with my prayer for her healthe, and thankes humbly for her Majestie's remembrance of me her weake spiritt.

From a monument of her Majestie's bountifulnes to a thankful servant, that is from Holdenby, Quene Elizabeth's memorie by Sir Christopher Hatton, her faythfull servant and counsellor, 19th Aug. 1579.*

Yours most assuredly,
W. BURGHELEY.

SIR PHILIP SYDNEY† TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, the greate advantage which I have, by the singular goodnes and frendshippe it pleaseth you to shewe me, which in truthe I do and have a good while reputed amongst the chiefe ornaments of my life and fortune, makes me fynde myselfe at as much disadvantage, when my hart, longing to shewe myself gratefull, can present nothing which maye be servisable unto you. But as I knowe, and have well founde, that you do esteeme a true good-will of some valewe, in that kynde only can I shewe myself, and assure you, that the litell that I am is and shall be in all times and fortunes so to be disposed by you, as one that hath promised love, and is bounde

* In the MS. which is only a copy, it is 1578, which would seem, by the date of the preceding letter, to be an error.

† An account of Sir Philip Sydney's quarrel with the Earl of Oxford, alluded to in this letter, which arose out of the overbearing arrogance of that nobleman, is given by Lord Brooke. See Sir Philip Syd-

by deserte to performe it. This is all, therefore, I can saye, though you lose me, you have me. As for the matter depending betwene the Earle of Oxford and me, certaynly, Sir, howsoever I might have forgiven hym, I should never have forgiven myself, if I had layne under so proude an injury as he would have laide uppon me, neither can anything under the sunne make me repente it, nor any misery make me go one halfe worde back from it. Let him, therefore, as he will, digest it. For my parte, I thinke tying upp makes some thinges seeme fiercer then they would be.

Sir, let me crave still the continuance of my happines in your favour and frendshippe, and I will ever praye unto God that, among those I most honor, I maye ever see you have prosperous causes of contentment.

28th Aug. 1579.

Your Honor's to be commanded even by duty,

PHILIP SEDNEY.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO LORD BURGHELY.

My Lord, my brother of Warwick hath wrytten unto me how readily and wylling he hath of late found your Lordship to further his reliefe, upon her Majesty's favourable and gracious consideration of his great nede, which lately hath bene by his frends opened unto her, and some meanes also, such as your Lordship is made privy to. He and his frends shall be much bound to your Lordship for the frendshippe you shall please to shew him.

And I must for my part as hartely thanke your Lordship for it, as for anything whatsoever were done to myself; and

ney's Life, in his Miscel. Works, Oxf. 1829, p. 16. The Queen interfered without success, and Sydney retired for a while to Wilton, the seat of his sister the Countess of Pembroke, where he composed the Arcadia during this temporary seclusion.

to intreat you most earnest to persist in your good dealing for him, as occasion shall serve, knowing indede his case, as I do.

I hope shortly to see your Lordship, and to conferre more at large in this matter with you. In the meantyme there is no newes here to wryte, but such as was somewhat strange to fynd; for I do assure your Lordship since Quene Mary's tyme, the papists were never in that jollyty, they be at this present in this countrey.

I have had horrid proof uppon a cause somewhat notorious, even at my coming hither, which I wyll more at large acquaint you withall at my returne. God of his mercye and goodnes defend her Majesty from all their devices! But, my Lord, they be here, and so in more places here, uppon their typtoes.

I protest afore God, I wryte this simply and plainly to your Lordship, as manyfest causes doth enforce. Therefore they were in tyme to be looked unto. I have now also another request to make to your Lordship touching Thurse. There were certayn tenants your Lordship was wylling should contynew as they had done, saving which there be a couple that had leases from my Lady Fytzwilliams, that are very desirous to contynew tenants still, uppon such consideration as shall be thought mete by your Lordship, and for her Majesty's profit as much as any. This bearer, George More, shall informe your Lordship for them, who hath bene an earnest sutor to me to be a meane to your Lordship, being his very dear frends; and he hopes your Lordship wyll gyve him leave also to attend uppon you for the same, and to declare the sute more at large. And so I wyll take my leave of your Lordship for this tyme, and commend you to the grace of God.

From Kenelworth, this Tuesday, the 20th of October, 1579.

Your Lordship's very friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO LORD BURGHELY.

My Lord, I have desired my Lord of Pembroke to excuse me to you, and to pray your Lordship to helpe to excuse my not coming this day. I perceave by my brother of Warwyke, your Lordship hath found the like bitterness in her Majesty toward me, that others (too many) have acquainted me lately withall.* I must confess it greveth me not a lyttle, having so faythfully, carefully, and chargeably served her Majesty this twenty yeres, as I have done.

Your Lordship is witness, I trust, that in all her services I have bene a direct servant unto her, her state, and crown ; that I have not more sought myne owne particular proffyt than her honor.

Her Majesty, I see, is grown into a very strange humour, all things considered, toward me ; howsoever it were trew or false, as she is informed, the state whereof I will not dyspute. Albeit, I cannot confess a greater bondage in those cases, than my dewty of allegiance oweth. Your Lordship hath bene best acquainted, next myself, to all my proceedings with her Majesty, and I have ere now broken my very hart with

* "This anger of the Queen was occasioned at first by the French match, that was agitating betwixt her and the Duke of Anjou, which Leicester was much against, but the Queen seemed inclinable to. Simier, the French ambassador, that wooed amorously for Anjou, brought her into displeasure with Leicester, by reason of some things, whether true or false, which he informed against him. Insomuch that she commanded him not to stir out of the castle of Greenwich, and had thought to have sent him to the Tower. But yet after a month or two he seemed to be in better termes with her ; being appointed with the Lord Treasurer and some others to consider of the marriage. But the Queen's displeasure brake out again towards the latter end of the year, and as it seems upon the same occasion ; whereupon he wrote this letter, intending that the Lord Treasurer should represent his humble behaviour to her Majesty under her indignation. But the letter, which he wrote at London, was not delivered to the Treasurer, being then with the Queen at Greenwich."—*MS. Note by Strype.*

you, and have offered, for avoyding of such blame, as I have generally in the realme, myne own exyle, that I might not be suspected a hinderer of that matter,* which all the world desired, and were sutors for.

I well understand from whence this cometh now, not for so good a purpose as I meant then. But God judge them as they intend! I wyll be found faythfull and just to her Majesty, no wrongs, dishonors, or other indignytyes offered me, shall alter my dewtyfull affection toward her, neither wyll I acknowledge more good dealings at their hands, that have bene causers of this, than dew respect to her Majesty shall commande me.

I ever had a very honourable mynd in all my actions, as neare as my capacity might dyrect me, (and with modesty be it spoken,) toward her servyce in my pore calling. Even so was it never abased in any slavish manner, to be tyed in more than unequall and unreasonable bands.

And as I caryed myself almost more than a bondman many a yere together, so long as one dropp of comfort was left of any hope, as you yourself, my Lord, doth well know, so being acquitted and delyvered of that hope, and, by both open and pryvate protestations and declarations dyscharged, methinks it is more than hard to take such an occasion to beare so great dyspleasure for; but the old proverbe saythe, "they that wyll beat a dogge shall want no weapon." This is a farr fett¹ matter to pyck to me.

The cause is some other, I must suppose, or ells my lyfe is very wretched and unhappie. But why do I trouble your Lordship with this matter? I meant only to thank you for that you have done, and to friend me as in truth I shall be found to deserve.

For her manner toward me, I may not find lacke, I know what I have bene, and am to her in all humble dewty. Shè may, perhaps, forthink her benefitts bestowed. So may I

* The Queen's marriage.

¹ Fetched.

say, I have lost both youth, liberty, and all my fortune reposed in her; and, my Lord, by that tyme I have made an even reckoning with the world, your Lordship wyll not give me much for the remainder of my twenty yeres' service; but I trust styll, she that hath been so gracious to all, wyll not only be grievous to me.

God Almighty dyrect her Majesty, and grant her many and prosperous yeres, and your Lordship as well to do as myself. In hast, this Thursday afternone.

(November 12, 1579.)

Your Lordship's thankfull frend,

R. LEYCESTER.

DR. WILSON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My verie good Lorde, I do send unto your Lordship the letter written by the Maior and Bayliffs of Corke, which was thought meete by her Highnes' counsell that you should see, and yield your opinions of their demands, after the evil newes reported of Youghil* to be burned, as they have written.

I have received a letter from Noremberg, the 3rd of November, written by one William Walker there, to his master John Boorne, lether-seller of London, by which appeareth, that one Doctor Christopher Ardecentions, a man of great esteeme in Noremberg, did receave letters of a fresh date, that the shyppes prepared in Spain are againste Englande and Irelande,† and that the King doth all in the Pope's name.

Mr. Secretarie Walsingham did send unto me the letter, which I thought good to shew unto her Majestie, as occasion might serve.

* Youghil was surprised and sacked by the Earl of Desmond.

† Winter was, on this intelligence, sent out with a fleet to watch upon the coast of Ireland, but hearing nothing of the enemies for some time he returned to England. During his absence the Italians and Spaniards, under San Josepho, landed in Kerry.

Mr. Monson sendeth the warden of the fleete to the courte, to knowe by what warrant he is commytted to close pryson. I answered the warden that Mr. Monson doth busie hymself too much to see his warrants, if it might suffice hym that the counsel had given order by worde of mouthe; neither needeth he to shew his warrant to any prysoner, but onely to have it, and kepe it to hymself, for his own indemnitie.

The bearer hereof came out of Irelande, and he desireth a speedie answer.

Thus humblie and in haste I do take my leave. At the Courte, the 3rd December, 1579.

Your Lordship's most assured to commande,

THOMAS WYLSON.

SIR CHRISTOPER HATTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

My good Mr. Secretary, my zealous care for her Majestie's safetie now fearfully stirred up, with these evill newes of the affaires of Ireland, doth give me dutifull occasion in my absence to write some littell of my simple opinion, though I I know it needeth not, but only for my dutie sake. The long expected mischief, maliciously conspired by the greate and most dangerous enemies of her Majestie, and of her royall estate, towards that kingdome of Ireland, is now, I heare, in action; wherein though that maxim of kings which contayneth the counsell of Providence in this sentence, *dubia pro rectis debeunt timere reges*, hath been by our gracious Soverayne, and her most politick foresight, very gravely observed in sending out six shippes to resist these intended traiterous attempts, yet that direction, by their untymely and unfortunate returne, contrary to order, having taken no place, we are agayne and agayne to prosecute our course, (as of necessitie we be violently urged) with a resolute perseverance of her Majestie's most noble beginning, wherein there remayneth,

that her Highness, through her kingly courage, should timely and victoriously resist this rabble of rebells and traytours, and to let nothing be spared either of treasure, men, munition, or whatsoever els, to save that kingdome, being, as you knowe, the principall keye of her royall state; by which means she should crowne this her most happie government, with continuance of felicitie, over all her dominions.

In whiche greate and important cause, the best counsell is according to the olde rule, to resist the beginning, and so, if it were possible, to ende this mischief, before other her potent enemyes myght find opportunitie to work their malice upon us. For when we beholde the greate prosperitie of Spaine, through his peaceable possession of Portingale, we ought justlie to feare that his affaires being settled there in some good sorte, he will then, no doubt, with conjunct force assist this devillishe Pope to bring about their Romishe purpose. Let us not forget that his sworde is presently drawen, and then with what insolent furye this his victory may inflame him against us, in whose heart there is an auncient malice thoroughly rooted and ranckly growne for these many yeares, apparentlie knowen to all men that do bende their eyes to behold the course of his actions, and therefore we ought not only tymely to forsee, but in tyme most manfully to resist the same. In all which proceedings God's cause and her Majestie's stand joyntlie to be defended; the consideration whereof persuadeth me that there is no man that will spare travayle or expence in any sorte to reduce them to good order.

Cease not, good Mr. Secretary, to putt her Majestie in continuall remembrance of these perills, and with importunitie stirre up her most princely care over God's cause and her owne.

How that matter in Scotland goeth, I do not well know, but this rule I hold in all certaintie, that in Ireland and Scotland the entryes and wayes to our destruction most aptly be found. If there we safely shutt up the posterne gate, we

are sure to repulse the perill; but if our enemy make himselfe the porter, it will then be too late to wish we had the keyes.

Would God some wise man were sent with the grave instructions of her Majestie to reclayme that countrie of Scotland unto us.

The malice of France is there ever made up against us, and of these myschiefs they are ever the executioners. Howe they trouble us in Ireland, we often see and feele; but if that Kinge should be conveyed into France, and so governed and directed by the Guysians, I dare not remember, much less speake of, the daungers would issue uppon us. One thousand pounds employed now in time might happily not only buy her Majestie present safetie, but undoubtedly save her the expence of threscore thousand before many yeares. With the disposition of France, which lieth nowe in her Majestie's free arbitrament, I dare not meddell, for she only knoweth what shall become thereof; so her judgment therein must needes be most sound, which, in truth, maketh much to all these matters before mentioned.

But if her Highnesse meane to marry, I wonder she so delayeth it. If she do but temporize, and will leave it at the last, what may we looke for then, but that the Pope with Spayne and France will yoke themselves in all ireful revenge, according to their solemne combination, so long ago concluded on against us.

Now, therefore, weighing the present accidents of the world together in an equall ballance, howe hurtfull they may be to the safetie of her Majestie's most royall estate, and preservation of her most blessed government, first the weake and broken estate of Ireland, then the uncertaine suspected amytye of Scotland, the dangerous action of the French, tending to the subversion of the Protestants, the irrecoverable losses and overthrowes receaved lately by the states of the Lowe Countries, and the fortunate and victorious successe of the King of Spayne in Portugal, I cannot but mourn in my hart to see us besett on all sides with so great and apparent dan-

gers. I beseech God, continue her Majestie's most careful and provident course to resist these so imminent evils in good tyme, and to make us ever thankfull towards her for such her most gracious and inestimable goodness conferred on us her poore subjects through her most kingly care over us. God blesse you, and so with a thousand thanks for your honorable letters, I byd you most friendlie farewell. From Hatton-house, the 26th of April, 1580.

Your poore friende,

CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

DR. WILSON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

(Extract.)

* * * * *

I do sende you herewith such advertisements as I have received out of France from Sir Henrie Cobham, together with a letter from Mr. Secretarie. Yesterdaie, Monsieur de Plessey was with me, and I do thynke this daie he wyl be with your Lordship as he told me. He cometh with letters to the Queene from the Kyng of Navarre, complayning agaynst the harde and unmerciful dealing of Montmorency and Byron; for whereas certayne townes should have been delivered up, with promise from the King that in none of the same townes any garrysons should be kepte, but be ruled by their own burgesses, and to have the exercise of their religion, the Kyng of Navarre having performed this in some small townes, Marshals Montmorency and De Byron, have entered upon the same townes, kylled both man, woman, and chylde, setting garrysons in those townes, and commanding the Catholyke religion only to be exercised. Hereupon, the Kyng of Navarre hath complayned, and myndeth not to give up other townes of more strength without better assurance. And herein he hath gott Monsieur to be his frende greatlie,

who sayth, the King of Navarre hath reason with hym to do as he doth, and that others are in fawlte and blameworthy.

I doubt not but your Lordship wyl hold a good hande in this Godlie cause, and therefore I neede not to use farther speache. I do heare that the King of Spayne provydeth mightely agaynst Portugale with all expedition, and that the Portugales are as readie to make resistance. God graunte right to prevayle agaynst might whatsoever.

I have leave for a fortnight to looke to my health, having a greate heate there in my regnes, Doctor Hector promysing unto me speedie remedie by God's grace. I do drynke mornynge and evenynge a full pynte of Tower-hyl water, which doth me great good, and hath taken awaye the thurste, wherewith heretofore I have been troubled. Thus humblye and with haste I do take my leave.

At Saynt Catherine's, this last of Maie, 1580.

Your Lordship most assured to command,

THO. WYLSON.

LORD GREY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It may please your Majestie, I am humbly to requyre that my wyllingnes be not examined by the small haste my late arryvall here may seme to make hereof. Ten dayes was I held at Beaumaris by contrarie wynde, and in the ende too enforced to adventure a very scarce one, or els have made long staye, which yet it pleased God to turne to the best, so as after two dayes and as many nyghts sailing, I landed here this mornynge. The state of your countrie here in generall I fynde to be thus.

The Pale itself sore vexed, through the undutiefullnes of Viscount Baltinglass and his associates, many of your subiectes by them spoyled and burnt, which sturre wyl now be the hardlyer suppressed, having had head in the longest afforded it, and the good that is in hope to be done in them

by Englishe bandes onely in manner is to be expected, the chieffest of your Hyghnes' good subjectes having in mystrust, or rather in dyspayring of theyr own followers. So contrarie to my former purpose am I stayed from the west for the prosecutions of these, which indeede is so much the more perillous action as it is nearer to the hart. Well, the event is God's onely, but that somewhat is undertaken very shortely, I doubt not but your Hyghnes shall heare.

The rebells in Munster hold on styll; yet this daye I found it advertyzed hyther that James of Desmond, with Sawnders theyr honest apostle, making into these partes to have joyned with the rebells here, were encountered with by one Sir Cormack M'Feig, Lord of Muskrie, in the countie of Cork.

The sayd James was taken, and a man of Sawnders hys, the master escaping very hardly, unhappely; sundry of theyr people slayne, and the rest put to flight. An exploytt of great avayle and worthely to be considered. It may, therefore, please your Highnes to bestow some thanks on the gentilman that performed it, with some rewarde, as not onely to himself wyll be an encouragement to do better, but besydes stirre others to emulate his service by showe of lyke endeavours.

By Sir Nycholas Mallbie, it seemeth that his countrie is in doubt to be troubled by one Orwyck, backed by O'Donnel, but yet hope of staye therin resideth.

I fynde by Capt. Piers, that Ter. Lenoghe seemes yet to stande well devoted, and in good obedience to your Majestie, howbeit that certayne Scottes be arryved in those partes, whom he yet represseth from doing any outrage uppon your subjects, having made proclamations in his countie that none of his shall attempt any thyng that may be offensive to your Hyghnes. In requytall therof, and for his mayntayning herin, your councell here do lykewyse cause to be proclaymed the well-lyking of his dewtifull dealing, and no less safetie and provysion for his. For all this, his assurednes goeth not undoubted by reason of his wyfe, knowen to be a

pestilent instrumente, altogether Scottisshe, and applying all that in her is to direct hym from your loyaltie.

Your Majestie may thus see what uncertayne conditions this your realme standeth in. Greate complaynte here of lack of paye and vittayle; these wants surely during this tumultuous season your Highnes must have care in time to be supplied, otherwyse beyond the industrie or reache of man it is to performe any acceptable or expected service. Till it shall please God to bryng thinges to better quiet, I cannot satisfie your Hyghnes' directions for your accounts taking and certifying of the same, neyther as yet is the auditor come, but any pause gyven I wyll not, God wylling, be found slack therein. For that I maye have occasion to yeld your Hyghnes suche advertisements as the same, intercepted and knowen to others, might bryng no small prejudice to your service, I thought it requisite to devyse a cypher, wherby I might the more safely betake unto you matters of most importance, which here inclosed I send, humbly praying your Hyghnes to beare with my ragged characters, which for secrecie sake I chose rather myself ill-favoredly to sett downe, then to impart to other's fayer draught. So most humble leave I take of your Majestie, beseeching the Lorde of Lordes to guard, direct, and prosper your Hyghnes, in person, spyritt, and all actions ever.

Dublin, the 12th of Aug. anno 1580.

Your Majestie's most dutifull affectionate

subject and servant,

A. GREY.

MR. FRANCIS BACON* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My singular good Lord, my humblie dutie remembered, and my humble thanks presented for your Lordship's favour

* This was the great Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam.

and countenance, which it pleased your Lordship at my being with you to vouchsafe me above my degree and deserte, my letter hathe no further errand but to commend unto your Lordship the remembrance of my suite, which then I moved unto you ; wherof it also pleased your Lordship to give me good hearing so farr forthe as to promise me to tender it unto her Majestie, and withall to add in the behalf of it that which I maie better delyver by letter then by speeche, which is that although it must be confessed, that the request is rare and unaccustomed, yet if it be observed how fewe there be which fall in with the studie of the common lawes, either being well lefte, or frended, or at their own free election, or forsaking likelie success in other studies of more delighte, and no lesse preferment, or setting hand therunto early without waste of yeares, upon suche survey made, it may be my case may not seme ordynarye no more then my sute, and so more beseming unto it. As I force myself to say this in excuse of my motion, leste it should appeare unto your Lordship altogether indiscrete and unadvised, so my hope to obtayne it resteth onlie uppon your good Lordship's affection towarde me and grace with her Majestie, who methinks nedeth never to call for the experience of the thinge, where she hath so greate and so good of the person which recommendeth it. According to which trust of myne if it may please your Lordship both herein and elsewhere to be my patron, and to make accompte of me, as one in whose well-doing your Lordship hath interest, albeit, indede, your Lordship hath had place to benefitt many, and wisdom to make due choise of lighting places for your goodnes, yet do I not feare anie of your Lordship's former experiences for staying my thankfulness borne in hart, howsoever God's good pleasure shall enable me or disable me outwardlie to make proof therof, for I cannot account your Lordship's service distincte from that which I owe to God and my prynce ; the performance wherof to best proof and purpose is the meting poynte and rendez-vous of all my thoughts. Thus I take my leave of your Lordship in humble

manner, commytting you, as daylie in my praiers, so likewise at this present, to the mercifull protection of the Almightye.

From G. Inn, this 16th of Sept. 1580.

Your moste dutifull and bounden nephew,

B. FRA.

CHRISTOPHER HODDESDON TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

In Antwerpe, the 25th Sept. 1580.

In Frislande all runneth backwards ; th'enemy being againe masters of the field, rangeth round about at his pleasure.

He overthrewe of late two ensignes of Capitaine Michell's men, where two Capitaines were taken, and thirty or forty of the men with another capitaine slaine, and the ensignes lost, but not without some losse of th'emies' side also, for the States men defended themselves stoutly.

This done, th'enemy presented himself before Siwell, with shewe to have besieged the same, but understanding that th'Englishmen were passing over the river to fight with them, they retired back above three leagues.

They have also wonne Souoorden againe, which the Dutche that the Count of Hollacque did put therein surrendered, delivering their capitaines and officers prisoners, and themselves being permitted to depart unarmed.

Since the overthrowe given to the States men at Nedden, neither the Ruitters nor any of the footmen will abyde the coming of the enemye; and the Ruitters lie close in the villages about Deventer, Zutphen, and those other townes, calling for money. Of the Englishmen divers be sicke, for the countrey is very wett, and the foode too harde for their complexions and diet; and being also without money or meanes to help themselves, they are forced to live upon the boores, who are

all in armes, and where they can be masters either of the States men or th'enemy do cutt them in peeces.

No townes will take in garrison, victualles are scant, and dare not followe the campe for feare of th'enemy.

The Counte of Hollacque useth the Almayne's exercise, and hath lost the hartes of the people; they of Utrecht having commaunded him of late out of their towne with very evil speeches. So that all standeth there in desperate termes, and will to ruine if in tyme it be not remedied. To which ende it is said the Prince within these three or four dayes goeth to Utrecht, but it is feared will come too late.

The malecontentes in Flaunders have not continued in any certaine place since the taking of Bouchaine, which they fortified, but range from place to place. Th'enemy make a shewe towards Nivelles.

In Gaunt there was some practise of treason, which being discovered, twentie or thirtie are apprehended upon suspicion to be of confederacie.

The doubte of the French aydes hath made the malecontents to fortifie alongest the frontiers, and put all their countrey to armes, having made forts of their churches, so as at the alarme of their bells they are able to bring great numbers of armed men into the field.

By letters of the seconde and fourth of September, it is advertised out of Spaine of the arrivall of twenty-two shippes from the Indies, wherof sixtene came from Nova Hispania, four from Havana, two from the Hundoras, and one out of the South Sea, which passed the Straites of Magdalanus in seeking of Frauncis Drake.* In the fleete is come 850,000

* Sir Francis Drake, the son of a sailor, born near Tavistock in 1545, was brought up by the navigator Hawkins, to whom he was related. He died on board his own ship, near the town of Nombre de Dios, on the 28th Jan., 1596. He was, at the date of this letter, on his celebrated voyage round the world, from which he returned in November. He afterwards received a visit from the Queen in his ship, and was

ducketts for the Kinge, and a million and 300,000 ducketts for the merchants, all registered, 6500 rowes of cuchinelo, 84,000 hides, and 6000 rowes of woll, great store of anel.

The fleete of Terra Firma is looked for presently, and bringeth with it five millions of gold, and in the islande Tercera there remayned five galleons that came from the Portingale Indies, and seventeen shippes of Bresill and Santonia.

It is advertised also by the same letters of a battaile fought in Portingall, betwixt the Duke of Alva and Don Antonio,* wherin were many slaine on both parts; the victory remained unto the Duke of Alva his side, and Don Antonio fled, being hurte, and accompanied only by six horses. The towne of Lisbon, with the suburbs thereof, was sacked, and all delivered unto the Duke of Alva.

Most ready at your Lordship's commandement,
CHRIST. HODDESDONN.

DANIEL ROGERS TO DR. WILSON.

Right honorable, having written a large letter unto Sir Fraunces Walsyngham and your Honour joyntlie, I do not doubt but the same shal be shewed unto you, therefore I neede not at this present to reapeate such things as be said in the former letter.

The first newes which your Honor shall receive at lengthe wil be that either the Duke (?) hath taken some towne, or els that he is excluded out of Andwerp. The Prince and his counsell are verie busie, howe they might persuade himself to

knighted. Camden gives an interesting account of Drake and his voyage, in his Annals of this year.

* Antonio was the next successor to the throne of Portugal, after the death of Henry, but he was driven out by the Spaniards, who took forcible possession of his kingdom, and joined it to Spain.

retire; which things I could wishe not to come to many persons' knowledge, because the Prince told it me as a great secrete, who spoke very franklie with me, and most courteouslie entertayned me.

I am sorrie that her Majestie and the French King have not heretofore aided Don Antonio, for that two monethes ago small ayde of a fewe men and fortifyers, with munition sent unto Don Antonio, and the estate of Portugale, would have done them more goode, then a verie great host at this tyme can do, and yet (saith he) there are verie good meanes, by the which the Portugals may be holpen, as I wrote in the rude discourse, which I have sent unto you. He blameth Don Antonio to have foughten with th'enemie skilfull in warre before he had good souldiers and good captaines, and withall affirmed, if th'enemie invade us, we should not do well, according to our manner to offer him battle forthewith, for that the Kinge of Spaine in suche a case, woulde get him the best captaines and souldiers which were to be had in Europe; therefore, if th'enemie shoulde winne of us a battaill, he woulde so feare and dismay us, that the realme shoulde be in great daunger. I said that there were a singular couradge in Englishmen, and that they would defende their country otherwise then the Portugale had done. He aunswered that he woulde not compare the Portugale souldiers to the valour of an Englisheman, of whose courage he had had verie good experience; but willed me to remember this discourse, affirming that we should do best of all, in suche a case, to take awaie victuals from th'enemie, to entrenche and fortifie ourselves, &c. As for the Duke of Allanson, and Monsieur Languet, they are plainelie of the same opinion, in which he is. I cannot write greater commendations of a prince, then he has written of the said Duke of Allanson, having sent divers letters of his owne hande, unto the Prince, Languet, Junius, Villiers,, as also unto the generalitie of th'estates. I have sent here to your Honour letters intercepted of the Cardinall Granvelle's and Doctor, who methinketh hath for-

gotten to write Latin. The letters of the cardinall are worthe the reading. In one of them is mention of the attire of the Kinge of Portugale's horse, which he esteemeth at 8000 crownes, which he wisheth the Duke of Florence to buy ; so that it seemeth unto me, the Kinge of Spaine hath no more money then is needefull. Ludwike Guicciardine* his description of the Lowe Countries is again a printing at Plantine his shop, unto which he addeth as much more as allreadie hath been printed, joyning the pictures of all townes, with the particular description of everie province, which he myndethe to dedicate unto her Majestie. He hath him most humblie commended unto your Honour.

The Prince of Aurenge, amongst other things, understanding by me the travaile which your Honor tooke for the ayde to be sent into Portugale, marvelleth you had no better successe, and demaunded of me how your daughter dyd, which should have been with his wife, and was glad that she did well. He demaunded likewise of me, unto howe many princes of th'empire I had letters, and having aunswered him, he saide he mervailed that I had none to the Dutchesse of Saxonie, Duke Julius of Brunswicke, Duke Ludwike of Wittenberghe, neither unto Joachimus Ernestus prince of Anhalte ; but I gave him to understande that they shoulde be sent after me ; wherefore I beseech your Honour most humblie, if alreadie you have not procured the signing of them, you will be so good as to remember them, and to send them unto me, by the bearer hereof, whom I thought good at this presente to sende unto you, as well to advertise your Honor of suche thinges as are comprehended in my large letter, as also he might returne unto me, with such letters as will be necessarie for me, to th'intent I may have that successe which such matter requireth for which I am sent. And thus I leave to trouble

* Ludovico Guicciardini was the nephew of the celebrated historian of that name. The second edition of his *Descrittione de' Paesi Bassi* was published in folio at Antwerp by Plantine in 1581. It is dedicated to King Philip.

your Honor, beseeching th'Almighty God to prosper your estate, to continue you in good health, and to give a happie successe to all your good endeavours. From Steinberghe, the first of October, 1580. In haste.

Your Honor's most humble at commandement,

DANIEL ROGERS.

I sende herewithall unto your Honor, a copie of Sir Allgonde his letter written unto Monsieur Junius. He hath promised me the original, and hath him most hartelie commended unto your Honor.

SIR NICHOLAS BAGNALL TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My good Lord, when I made mention in my last letters of my Lord Deputie's repair to the Newrie, and the occasion that was ministred by Turlough Lenoughe, and that commissioners were sent unto him for a treaty, I knewe not then what wold become thereof, but now that they are returned, and that my good friend your Lordship's true follower Capayne Fenton hath undertaken conveyance, I thought to tell you that with him the peace is ratified, and hither thence my Lord returned. This peace can be of no better assurance then other ratifications have bene. But for the more security, although his Lordship journey to Mounster, (whither willinglie I wold have attended) at home in my accustomed charge, I am contynued, although with small allowance and force, yet shall I eche waie willinglie do my endevors. And truly I must say that his Lordship bestowed the tyme well, for if he had not with such speed returned in the nicke as he did, then had there bene commytted by Baltinglasse and his traitorous adherents many such outrages, as could not easily have bene salved; but sithence his returne they are retired back in their fastnes. For those prosecutions course is prescribed, of which succes I knowe your Lordship shall heare. In the meane

tyme, it shall be founde how severely and thoroughly good Sir William Pelham hath handled Mounster ; as in all his government here he deserved with the best that preceded him, so in that wrought he good perfection, and so weakened the traytors there, that John Desmond is fled to Leinster, where he is to salve his drained estate with Baltinglasse. His owne actions, if his commendation should be withdrawen, will sufficiently expresse his desert. For your Honor's sake, he so friendlie entreated me, that I cannot but beseech your Lordship not onlie to give thankes in my behalf for his said curtesie, but also humbly crave that your Honor will not forgett but to commend me to the Lord Deputie, to be protected with his best favour for your sake. The man I am altogether unknown unto, and if your Lordship remember him with your earnest letters in my behalf, I trust he shall fynde desert, and your Lordship good cause to think it well bestowed. I will not further enlarge, but shall remember to praie for your honorable prosperitie and contentation everie waie, which the Lord graunt you.

Dublin, this 3rd of October, 1580.

Your honorable good Lordship's to comaunde al bounden,
N. BAGENALL.

SIR RICHARD BINGHAM * TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.†

Right honorable and my singular good Lorde, may it please you to be advertysed, that on Saturday, being the 5th

* Sir Richard Bingham, the second son of an ancient family of the county of Dorset, was one of the most distinguished soldiers of Elizabeth's reign, and died Marshall of Ireland. His lineal descendant is the present Earl of Lucan.

† The Italians and Spaniards who had landed in Ireland, under San Josepho, during the absence of the English fleet, had fortified themselves at Smerwick in Kerry, and endeavoured to form a junction with some of the discontented Irish ; but the Lord Deputy approaching,

of November, in the afternoon, the Admirall, with the rest of the fleete which had bene absent with him, came into the harbar of Smericke, to which place my Lord Deputy came that day from his campe, which lay at the dyngle, hearing of their ar-ryvall here, to conferr with them for the landing of two culveryns out of the Revenge, two out of the Swiftsure, and two out of the Tygar, with a sagar forth of the Ayde, and another forth of the Arrac, as also what powder and shot they myght spare for the batterie of the fortresse, with all other necessarie preparations for the trench ; further to advertyse your Honor that on Monday, being the 8th daye of this presente, early in the morning, my Lord Deputye marched with his campe from the dyngle towards the enemye, where about none he pytched his tente within faucion shotte, and in the evening there was order taken that most of the men forth of the shyppes shoulde come to labor to begynn the trenche, which trenche the fyrst night was wroughte a hundreth paces, and two culverins placed within three hundreth paces of their forte to dismounte their pieces, which were ready to play at the break of the day, and before it was two o'clocke in the afternoone they were all dismounted. The nighte following and the nexte day, being Wensday, we came with our trenche within six score paces of their curtayne, when we cast a sufficient aheade for the garde of the warde for that day, which Mr. South had. This day in the afternoone, about 9 or 10 o'clocke, Mr. Cheicke * was stricken from the forte, being in the heichte of the trenche. This same day, in the afternoone, they came to the poynte of the rampier, which we had beatten with the culveryns, with a white banner, beare-headed, and requested a parley, which my Lorde granted,

they retired to their fort, and were taken after a defence of five days. Sir Richard Bingham's account of this affair differs very much from the account given by Camden, who says that the foreigners were put to death in cold blood by order of the council. Raleigh and Spenser the poet were at the siege.

* John Cheek, the son of the famous Greek scholar, Sir John Cheek.

in which they were contented the same night to surrender up the place with their lyves, and all that therein was, to my Lorde's will, to have mercy or not mercy as he shoulde thynk goode. Yet for that it was nyghte, and no tyme to get them forth, they were by my Lorde respited till the morrowe, but the best of them taken forth for hostages or pledges. And we, that notwithstanding, followed our trenche, which we fynished the same nyghte within three score paces of their forte, and so ranne the same all alongst their fronte, where we meante to place our battery, to which we brought the same nyghte two pieces. In the morning, which was Thursday, and the tenth, early in the morning my Lorde sente in dyvers gentlemen to take order that suche munitions of powder and vyttells shoulde be preserved to her Majestie's use as there was. Then order was taken that the collonell with the captayns and chiefe officers shoulde come forthe, and delyver up their ensignes, with order and ceremonie thereto belonging, which done the band that had the order of the day then entered, which was put downe. But in the meane tyme were entered a number of the maryners upon the parte next the sea, which with the soldiours aforesaide, having possessed the place, fell to ryffing and spoyling, and withall kylling, which they never ceased whilest there lyved one. The number slayne myght be betwixte four and fyve hundredreth, but as some do judge, betwixte fyve and six hundredreth. They had, as I heare, of powder left fifty barrells, of pykes four thousande, other furniture of arms in such lyke proportion; of vyttells they had great store, saving that they wanted water, which they had not in their fort. Thus hath my Lorde most worthely achieved this enterprize, and so nobly and liberally delte with all sorts, that he hath gyven a greate satisfaction and content to all his followers. Thus, with my humble and dutifull service commended unto your good Lordshippe, I most humbly take my leave.

From Smericke roade, the 11 November, 1580.

Your Honour's most humble and most assured during
lyfe.

R. BYNGHAM.

THOMAS NORTON* TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

May it please your Honor, without all displeasant humor, and especially without the base disposition to afflict the afflicted, but onlie of true zeale to her Majestie's service, I am bould to informe you that long since I have seen a booke written in Frenche, intituled *Le innocence de la très illustre Royne, etc.* in the ende wherof is a treatie touching the cause of the Duke of Norfolke, written to the defamation of her Majestie and of his peers, and of some speciall persones of her Highnes' counsell. This booke is there pretended to be written in Frenche, by a stranger to Englande, and not by an Englisheman, for speaking of Englande he saieth *vostre pais et vostre roigne*, and such like; and yet in truthe it is written by an Englishman, as by Robyn Goodfellowe, and Goodman Gose, and an overslipped title, and otherwise, as I am able to prove. The whole course is very seditious, and defamatorie to her Majestie, her counsell and nobilitie. He chargeth the counsell with treason, and her Majestie with abandoning herselfe to be abused, to the disturbing of Christendome, to the maintenaunce of rebells, to the robbing of princes. It maye be that your Honor will thinke it good to inquyre the auctor, and not unfitte to examine the gentleman now in restraynt. The booke is not only an Englisheman's, but also originally written in Englishe, and translated into Frenche. Mr. Doctor Hamond is well acquainted with his

* Thomas Norton, of Sharpenhaule, or Sharpenhoe, in Bedfordshire, was a Calvinist, and a celebrated writer against the Papists. He had been joined with Sternhold and Hopkins in the formation of their metrical version of the Psalms, twenty-seven of which were from his pen. He was closely intimate with Thomas Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, and composed part of the tragedy of Gorboduc, (some say the first three acts,) which was published with their joint names. His prose works are well written, and show him to be a man of no mean abilities. He was counsel to the Stationers' Company, in whose book, we find entries of the fees paid to him, until the end of 1583 near which time Chalmers supposes that he died.

stile. Your Honor may also send to Mr. Dalton, and aske him whether the same party have not used at Mrs. Arundell's to mayntayne open disputations in defence of papistrie, and chalenged Mr. Dalton and others in that case, uppon wagers. There goeth also underhande abroad an Englishe treatise wrytten, wherin her Majestie's auncestrese is termed base in contempt, the Quene is threatened with rebellion of nobilitie, some great persons are charged that under her Majestie's favour they have, as it were, tyrannized over the people. If the booke be his, it is not good. Oute of these bookes great matters of charge maye be gathered to the auctor. It were pittie he should be untruely burthened with them, but greater pittie that he or any should carrie suche thinges clearly. And so I leave to trouble your Honor any longer.

At London, the 30th of December, 1580.

Your Honor's humble,

THO. NORTON.

THE SUIT OF WILLIAM SIMPSON, MERCHANT.*

Whereas one Garret Tynes, a stranger, lyving in Acon, in the parts beyond the seas, being none of her Majestie's sub-

* Endorsed, "Mr. Tolcarne's suite in the behalf of William Simpson, merchant, for a licence to bringe into the realme stone potts," &c.

During the 16th century, much of the earthenware used in England seems to have been imported from Germany, which explains the number of pots, tobacco-pipes, &c. of foreign manufacture, so often dug up about old buildings. A very curious specimen of these German drinking pots, of the time of Henry VIII., is preserved in the cabinet of Mr. Crofton Croker. It was found about thirty years ago, under the roots of an old tree at Edenbridge, and is adorned with female figures, in three compartments. These figures are, 1, "*Fursichticheit*," or foresight, making her way with a lighted taper; 2, "*Lockrecia*" (Lucretia) stabbing herself; 3, "*Gerechticheit*," or Justice, with her sword and scales.

The papers of Lord Burghley are full of petitions for monopolies ;

jects, doth buy upp all the potts made at Cullein, called drinking stone potts, and he onlie transporteth them into the realm of England, and selleth them ; it maye please her Majestie to graunte unto the sayd Simpson full power and onlie licence to provyde, transport, and bring into this realm the same, or such like drinking potts ; and the sayd Simpson will putt in good sureties, that it shall not be prejudiciall to any of her Majestie's subjects, but that he will serve them as plentifulle, and sell them at as reasonable prices, as the other hath solde them from tyme to tyme.

Item, he will be bound to double her Majestie's customes by the yeare, whensoever it hath bene at the moste. Item, he will, as much as in him lieth, drawe the making of such like potts into some decayed town within this realme, wherby manie a hundred poore men may be sett to worke.

Note, that no Englishman doth transport any potts into this realm, but onlie the said Garret Tines, who also serveth all the Low Countries, and other places, with potts.

SIR HENRY WALLOP TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My good Lorde, at this last passage I have receaved your Lordship's letters of the 26th of December, which were exceeding welcome unto me, because they confirmed me in the opynion of your Lordship's good favor towards me, and that you take in good parte my former advertisements, wherof I must confess I was somewhat doubtful, only by your Lordship's longe silence, and not uppon any other respect. Nevertheless, I will not conceive any such impression hereafter, but impute all to the weight of your Lordship's affayres, in hope you will also conceive of me, as in trothe I am at your devotion and comandement playnly after the onlie manner. There

and on some the Treasurer has written his own disapprobation not only of the particular demand, but of monopolies in general.

is nothing here to be written in generalitie, but which my Lorde Deputy informeth to the Lordes, saving that your servants Captayne Thomas Norrys and Captayne Anthonye Dearinge have had some good happ against the followers of Clanricard in Conought, where they had the kylling of four shott, eight kerne, and of a 100 releevors and their fosterers; but th'Erles sonne William saved himself by flight. The eldest brother, Ulicke, is said to be either deade or paste cure of a vyle disease, but in most men's judgment it is thought that Johnne Burcke, (who trayned him into this rebellion) hath used the meanes to shorten his life, to make himself heire apparent to his father. A race of ranker rebels is there not in Ireland.

It is advertised that Scottes are landed of late in greate numbers in Ulster, and are distributed by Tyrloughe into Conought and other partes, whereby he easeth his own charge in their mayntenaunce, and hath them still at his devotion, whensoever he fyndeth opportunity to publish himself in rebellion, which in my opynion he will not long cover, for as every moonlight he gathereth forces and maketh shew of invasion, to withdraw the Lord Deputye from presenting the rebels in other partes, so is he now in a parley with Sarleboy, and such as are sent to solycitt him from th'Erle of Argile, to be backed out of Scotland, and by th'Erle's meanes (it is said) he hath adopted the King of Scotts as his foster sonne, which may be the occasion of the coming hither of the inland men of Scotland, which now serve him under Craforde.

The returne of Captayne Piers must discover all his purposes, and albeit the general revolt here in all the provinces be a means of an extreme charge, which I would wish diminished if it could be with her Majestie's honor and safety, yet do I see (in my opynion) a great necessity to encrease it, unless her Majestie will suffer such indignities in Ulster as are neither tollerable in respect to her sovereignty, nor convenient for the preservation of her state, and therefore I do

wish that in this session of parlyament the burden that Ireland is and will be to England were not unremembered.

Within these seven dayes Sir William Stanley was assaulted in the night, in Wicklowe, by the enemy, the castells having bene by them formerly spoyled, where he lost two men, and his Lyftenant hurte; he kyled of them eight, and within two dayes after, Sir Henrye Harrington and he tooke from them 300 kyne and about a 200 studd.

The 20th herof, Mr. Thomas Le Strange, in a towne of Mc Gaule's, seven myles from his owne howse, towardses Athone, in the night, killed in the church of the said towne, ninetene of the O'Melaughleyns, and tooke the twentieth, all notorious theeves, and of the consorts of the Oconers, in which place they were taking meate, as they terme it.

About Twelftyde, the Seneshall of Imokelly, neere Yoghall, killed 36 of Captayne Piers his company, and ten of Sir William Morgan's, in which conflict it is said that the Seneshall was dangerously hurte with a bullett. And so for this tyme I leave your Lordship, determyning to use my wonted boldness in vysiting your Lordship with my simple letters, as I shall finde either messenger or matter.

At Dublin, the 26th of Januarye, 1580.

Your Lordship's most assured to be comaunded,

H. WALLOP.

JOHN BROWN TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Right honourable, wheras you willed me to write sometymes to you, the truth is, there hath bene no matters of any greate importaunce done before the surprise of this towne of Macklyn,* wherin now we remayne, the discourse wherof

* "In the Netherlands, Sir John Norris, general of the English forces, and Oliver Temple, with some companies of Netherlanders, scaled Mechlin, a rich city of Brabant, betimes in a morning, and with great slaughter of townesmen and religious people, took it; with some

I knowe my Collonell wrote unto you, and also of Niwven, what was done by Monsieur Lanoe. I could have written unto you of trifles, which would have bene but tedious to him that is troubled in so great affayres as you are. We are to quitt this towne, how soone I know not, to march to Monsieur Lanoe, to encampe ourselves with the French, Scottish, and other nations. But there is another piece of worke in hand for the English to be employed in. The collonell his sucresse hath bene so good in this, that they will not cease to employe him to keepe him busier still. Better they cannot please him, for truly if your Lordship had been to have seene the forwardnes of his owne person, the care for garding his owne men in safety uppon so soden an attempt, and the performaunce therof to the last ende of the act done, wherof my eyes are a witnes, you would have registred him in mind during life, which I have no doubt you do. In my opinion, you never gave credit to any man that hath better deserved from you, to do you honor and service, than he hath, and dothe, to you and yours, wherof I as one of your little ones do taste, and my conscience doth assure me whensoever you shall neede to employe him, that he liveth not towards you whom you may more assure yourself of.

The thinge that is to be shortly is secretly spoken of, and that is that we shall give an attempt to a towne called Buldwicke, which is of some force. And whatsoever hath bene reported of other nations for the surprising of this towne, I am able from the begynning to say to your Lordship the very truth of it, robbing not any man of that which is his due to him, by word of mouth, for that I am shortly by the appointment of my Collonell to come over with a present of sixe Hungarian horses for her Majestie, which horses I hope your

commendation indeed for their valour, but blemished with the foul blot of ravening and sacrilege, for they not only rifled the citizens' goods, with all the insolency of pillaging, but raged also even against the churches."—*Camden*.

Lordship will like well, for they are very well suted as ever I sawe for her Majestie's coach. Their colors are all light grey, and their maines and tailes all died into oringe tauny, according unto the manner of their country; they are horses of light shape, good of travell, and very younge. They are now but in reasonable flesh, for they have had a great journey, and they are also a very rare horse to be had. The Collonel by good fortune light on them at their first coming. Thus, praying your Lordship to pardon my longe and evill written lynes, I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to increase you in all honor and felicity, to the glorie of God.

From Macklyn, the 1st of Maye, 1580.

By me, your obedient servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

FRANCIS MYLLES TO RANDOLPH.*

Sir, since the last I wrote to you here hathe bene no new forayne occurrents, and our state here in court is, thanks be to God! as you left it, and have heard synce your departure. The inclosed is the particularites of that I last touched in generall to you of the matter of Stenwyk in Fryseland.†

This day a parlement ended. The titles of the actes are not yet to be had to be sent to you; but by the next you shall have them. An extract of the newe act agaynst our papists I have sent now to Mr. Bowes, requesting him to impart the same to you. The greatest matters now enacted are

* Randolph was now in Scotland, for the purpose of using his exertions to appease the heats of the turbulent parties in that kingdom, and to support the interests of Elizabeth.

† Stenwick, a town in Friesland, had been besieged by the Spanish party, but was gallantly relieved by Sir John Norris.

the subsidie, a lawe for the strengthening the northern borders, a lawe according to the said extract, a lawe for punishing utterers of seditious words agaynst her Majesty, and a lawe for a collection to repaire Dover haven.

The matter of commissioners out of both realmes to meete on the borders is feared here will worke no better effect than the removing of her Majestie's forces now readie to do good in Scotland, after which done, they which trouble the state of that realme will be ready and peradventure better provided to do more harme. But you see more than such poore men as I am here, and I trust God will turne all to the best, which is my comfort. Touching you particularly, though here is nothing done for your good since your departure, yet nothing anie way to your particular hinderance, neither I trust shal. And thus, with humble remembrance of my dutie, I take my leave. Whitehall, the 18th of Marche, 1580.

Your worshippe's greatly bounden and always to commande,
FRA. MYLLES.

There is a staye of the French commissioners at Callice or thereabouts grown untill after Easter. Whether the parlement be only adjorned or cleare dissolved, I know not: for it is the matter this instant in hand, her Majestie being not yet from the House.

MR. HUBAND TO W. HERLE.

Fellow William, I could have wisht your abode rather here then at Montgumery, and as I take it, it might as well stood with your business here as there, which I wishe to take successe to your own desire. As I remember you told me you might have fifteen hundred pounds; forbear not a good offer;

detract of tyme draweth perill; suche a sum of money is greate, considering the skarcenes and the ambiguity of the cause.

The Frenche ambassadours (as my letters tell me) are staid till twentie daies after Easter.

The Frenche King said to be dead. The preparation there still contynueth, bruted for Flaunders; I wishe it be so meante. The King of Spain levieth great forces out of Naples, Florence, and Cicilia, and divers other partes. They saye they come to the Low Countries, but rather thought for others. Out of Ireland no good newes.

D'Olbany made protector of Scotland. We presently send greater forces to the borders. The best newes, her Majestie is in healthe, which God long preserve, with resistance of her enemyes! Thus, with my hartie commendations, I bid you farewell.

Shrosbury, the 22nd of Marche. 1580.

Your loving frend,

JO. HUBAND.

J. BARROW TO ———.

Deare Sir, you have so well even nowe prevented me, as heretofore by sundry wayes bound me; for notwithstanding I promysed Mr. Thomson long ere this to have wrytten, this Sondag, 23d Aprill, I receved your letter, which accuses me of slowth and condempnes me of ingratitude, but I confesse the fault, and hope to amend. You salute me, so as becomes a good man; for in Christ is the chief band; and I esteeme you more then necessitye wylls me to speak. Trueth is, I dyd marvel of your long staye, and often inquired of your shorte returne, but now your letter hath fully satisfied me. I knowe my dett is more then common duties, but synce you wyll be satisfied with slowe payment, tyll fytter tyme, I wyl answer your command. I cannot furnish myself with

Mr. Steven's instructions, for I have not seen him of long at the court. I am not stored with newe thinges to lend you ; nor yet here is not : for our world doth muse at the Frenche and their causes. They came to London on Fridaye last, receaved with great triumph, and entertayned with great cost as ever you knew or heard.* The Cardinal Grand-ville is ambassador in Fraunce, and a great man from the Emperor. I had newes the other day from Naples, how Ceser and Philipp wyll in person be in the Low Countries this somer ; and for that cause the soldiers that were in Portingale is kept together styll. The Turck armes 200 gallies ; some feare Candie.

I heare the Queene continues her mynd to answer this Maye the Turck's letters, and you were named. Scotland is quiet, and some of our soldiers from the frontiers dismissed ; nor the King in religion is not revolted ; but D'Aubnye rules beyond all reache.

That arch knave Campion† is not heard of, but I prefered as great matter on Easter daye to the counsail. Captayne Drake is knyghted ; some think he goes agayne. The Low Countries is no changelyng, for the earthe is fattyd styll with human blude. For Cotton and Rouland York, for private cause in private fight, hath moystened that ground, with ending their owne lyfe. For the rest of countries I saye

* These " Frenche" were the commissioners sent over to negotiate the marriage with the Duke of Anjou.

† In the year preceding, the Jesuits began to come secretly into England, with the object of making converts to the Romish religion. The most famous were Parsons and Campion, the latter of whom was taken and executed at Tyburn this year. Edmund Campion was born at London in 1540, and was educated at St. John's College, Oxford. He wrote many books. " He was sent over," says Fuller, " with Father Parsons into England, to reduce it to the church of Rome. To this purpose he set forth his *Ten Reasons* so purely for Latine, so plainly and pithily penned, that they were very taking, and fetch'd over many (neuters before) to his persuasion."

nothing tyl I know myself. And thus I ende, with all dutyfull commendations. I am presently within fifteen dayes to go to Venice, at which tyme I meane, God wylling, once to write to you, though I cannot see you. Sir, the haste of your messenger makes me shorter then I would be, but I know you will esteem my good meaning, and so God bless you for ever.

London, 24th Aprill, 1581.

Yours ever most assured,

JA. BARROW.

GEORGE BOHUN TO W. HERLE.

I do accompte myself muche behoulden unto you for the greate love and frendshipp which I perceive you beare me, and which I have no meanes to requite againe, but only by loving you, wherin I purpose not to faile both in what and where I may. The expectation of the event of our commissioners* drowneth all other newes, and what that will be men's opinions are divers; some think the matter so long in suspence wil be, some contrarie, so that it is hard to give any certain resolution of the matter, and rather for the favorers and dislykers of it are (as conjecture maie be given by their utter . . .) in good hope.

Some think the resolution of the marriage is only a pretence, and that their intent is to treat of an union betwene Fraunce and us for the restitution of Don Antonio, and for invading the Low Countries; but *mihi non fit verisimile* that now, for the advancement of Fraunce, we shoulde enter into warre with the King of Spaine, without reservation of commodities to ourselves, and therefore I think I may add the rest of the wordes, *illis commentum placet*.

* For the marriage with the Duke of Anjou.

This daie they had their first audience, and to-morrowe they are feasted by her Majestie, and after by my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Chamberlain, and my Lord of Leicester; and my Lord of Arundell insteade of feastes entertaineth them at tilt and tourney.

The Frenche King's healtie is not suche as it is reported, but good: and of the King of Navarre since the conclusion of the peace we have heard nothing, but that he liveth in quiet.

Mr. Randall is returned from Scotland with small satisfaction, for there was a culiver discharged at his windowe where he used to write, although by his good hap he was gone to the fire.* D'Obigni governeth all, and hathe possessed the popularitie of Scotland by diminishing impositions and taxes layed upon them by Moreton, so that my *augurium* is that by his actions he gapeth for the crowne.

Mr. Randall sayeth that Moreton's deathe is resolved uppon, but not how. Our forces are all revoked from the borders, so that it seemeth that we are either satisfied out of suspicion, or out of feare.

Irelande still remaineth in his oulde state, the rebellious nothing diminished, nor the rebelles terrified by the slaughter of Spaniards and Italians at the fort, but rather increases, so that some begin to be of opinion that a peace by pardoning them wil be better then so unprofitable a warre.

The reporte of the Jesuits is dead, and although they were greate bugges at the beginning, yet now, except it be in pulpitts and in some bookes of our divines newly sett oute, I heare nothing of them.

Mr. Drake hath made a very profitable journey, both for himself and the rest of the adventurers; hath discovered some thinges which is kept *tantum mysterium*, wherein he thinketh his service is greater than all the treasure he brought,

* Randolph had drawn much ill-will upon himself from the other party by his strenuous efforts to shield Morton from their vengeance.

thoughte it was better than 600,000*l.*. He is a right *magnifico*, hathe given her Majestie presents of riche jewels, and also to other of the counsell, feasted her Majestie at Deptford, whereas for his good service she made him a knight.

Italie is all quiet, neither yeldeth any newes. The Spanish King hath since the last overthrowe got, remained in Portugale, shewing great courtesie to the nobilitie and people therby to . . . them, and chiefly to the Duke and Dutchess of Braganza, whom he dandleth so finely, that he hath brought them to a perswasion of a marriage between their daughter and the Prince of Spaine his sonne. Some thing he intendeth and hath made staie of certaine of our shippes to serve him, but whether for suspicion of Don Antonio only, it is unknowne, for as you know his affaires are used with great secrecie.

Don Antonio, uppon his overthrowe at Porto, and the yelding of Viana, fell into Fraunce, where he contynueth with some hope to be restored to his kingdome by them, but in mine opinion, seeing that the King of Navarre for all the assistance that either he or his ancestors could have from Fraunce, could never recover his lost kingdom, wherunto they were bound and confirmed uppon Fraunce, and that a countreyman, the poore man being to them a stranger, in blud a bastard, hath a small hope to recover by their meanes that which is situated farre from them. But should I exemplifie the King of Navarre, seeing he never attempted the recoverie of Naples and Milanne, shall we now think he will do that for a stranger that he will not do for himself?

In the Lowe Countries the matters pass as they did. The Prince of Orange hath lately sent out a book against the King, wherein he answereth to the prescriptions against him, and toucheth the King very notably. So that both armes and letters offensive passe.

The oulde bands, that retired uppon the composition at Mastrick, are returned with the good liking of the malecontentes, and not long since have given an overthrowe to the

states about Bruges, wherin were slaine 500 or thereabout, though th'other side give 1900.

Mr. Norris hath behaved himself very gallantly this last winter in Frislande, hath impeached all the attempts of the malecontentes in that countrie to their losse, and in the ende enforced them to retire to the rest of their companie at Cambray, which they nowe besiege. Mr. Morgan returned thither with a newe supplie lately : since his going we have heard nothing of him. Roger Williams is much commended for his valour in his divers conflicts. Daniel Rogers is with the Prince of Parma, or els sent into Spaine, so that he is like to buy the glorie of his ambassie with an hard imprisonment. And so wishing you a good sale of your fee-farme, that you may retorne *bene nummatus*, I take my leave.

From the Court, the 25th of April, 1581.

Your most assured,

GEORGE BOHUN.

E. MOLYNEUX* TO ——— MORETON.

Sir, the newes Thomas Taylor brought was of the arryval of the Frenche ambassadour at Dover, which was the 21st of this month at night. The cause of the long staye was partly the fowle wether, but chiefly the sycknes of Monsieur Marshall Cosse, who is so feble and weake, by reason of his late sycknes, as he travaileth not above eight or sixe myles a day. They arrived at the courte on Saturday last, being the 22d of this Aprill, and men may think reasonably, considering the numbre and the greatnes of the persons, that they come not for matter small or desperate.

Mr. Randall is returned out of Scotland, muche discon-

* Edward Molineux, Esq. of Nutfield, in Surrey, Secretary to Sir Henry Sydney.

tented, for all hath fallen out overthwarte, for neither Moreton is brought unto triall and saved, nor the Englishe faction dare receive any aide, for feare, they alledge, lest they should be suppressed in religion.

The Kinge of Spayne buyldeth gallies ; some think for the streight Magellan ; some be of opinion for Ireland ; some others think for Friseland. The likeliest, as I conjecture, is for Magellanes. He prepareth likewise a good force by land, most like it is to be for feare or doubte of Don Antonio and his adherents.

The Lowe Countries stande at warre within themselves. Monsieur muche spoken of amongst them.* They are of many heades, and the enterprize is hard and costly for Monsieur. These are the cheife and the most important newes that I knowe for the present. I bid you farewell, with my harty commendement.

From Sallop, the 26th of Aprill, 1581.

Your assured loving frend to be

comanded now and ever,

E. MOLYNEUX.

LORD BURGHEY TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My very good Lord, with thanks for your letters and messenger, who on Friday met me coming from Thebald's, I came yesterday hyther about five of the clock, and repaying towards the privie-chamber, to have seen her Majestie, I found the doore at the upper end of the presence-chamber shut, and then understood that the French ambassador had bene a long tyme with her Majesty, and the Prince of Condé also, where there was none other of the counsell but my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Walsingham being sick in his chamber. And so about seven of the clock, the French ambassador being ready to depart

* The Duke d'Anjou was elected governor of the Low Countries.

towards London, came to me and told me a great part of their proceedings, being pleased well with her Majesty for her temperate dealings, but no wyse contented with the Prince of Condé, in whom he findeth more disposition to move troubles in France than to enjoy peace, and he addeth he clerely thynketh that these troubles in France and the Prynce's coming hyther are provoked from hence, wherin I know nothyng of certainty, but should be sorry it should be so in truth. Nevertheless, he augmenteth his suspicions uppon the sight he hath of the great favours shewed to the Prynce of Condé by certain counsellors here, whom he understandeth hath bene many tymes, both on Friday and Saturday, with hym at the Banketting-house, where he is lodged.

Yesternight, late in the evening, her Majesty told me of her dealing with the ambassador and the Prynce, wherin she commended the Prynce's modesty in declaring the cause of his coming to be to shew to her Majesty the just causes that had moved the King of Navarr to take armes for his defence agaynst the Marshalls Montmorency and Byron, of whose violences (as he supposed without warrant from the King) he shewed many particular cases, to which the ambassador made defence by retorting to the King of Navarr the occasions of the Marshall's actions to have grown from the King of Navarr first. The Prince also declared the causes of his coming from St. John d'Angeli to have bene to serve the Kyng in his government of Pycardy, where he sought to obtain the good-will and lyking of the towns in Picardy, because the Kyng and his mother also had assented for their parts that he should have the government, saving that they found the states of the countrie unwilling, which was, as he understood, but a suggestion made by means of the House of Guise to them, that d'Aumale might have that government from hym. And so he coming into Picardy found, as namely at Soyssons, the people glad of his access, and yet notwithstanding his adversaries on the part of the Duke d'Aumale procured contrary suggestions to be made to the Kyng, and

in the end he found certain numbers of men of warr amassed by the Lige of Picardy to have trapped the Prince, and therof complayning and fynding no remedy, he was forced to flee towards Almayn. Hearing that the House of La Feir was garded, and perceiving that the French Kyng was induced by his adversaries to credit their false complaynts, he came hither to intreat her Majesty that the French King wold suspend his jugments both agaynst the King of Navarre and hym, and accept them as his dutifull subjects, as they meant and intended syncerely and playnely, without attempting any force, otherwise than for their defence against their oppressors. And to this I understand the ambassador used small defence, but excused the King as one that was very loath to come to terms of warr; but he argued that his master was so provoked, as he thought it a very hard matter to stay him from proceeding with such force as God had gyven hym to the expedytyng of his life and crown. The ambassador went to London, and the Prynce to his lodgyng conducted by my Lord of Leicester, where Wylkes the clerk of the counsel attendeth upon hym.

By her Majestie I perceive his just cause of coming is for money in this sort, that is, after this rate the charges to be borne, viz. a part by the King of Navarre and his part, and another by Cassimir and certain princes Protestants, and a third is required from her Majestie. What they may prove I know not. I wish her Majestie might spend some portion to sollicite for them some peace, to the good of the cause of religion, but to enter into a warr, and therewith to break the mariadg, and so to be left alone as subject to the burden of such a warr, I thynk no good counsellors can allow.

It is likely that the Prynce shall depart to-morrow by sea to Flushing, from whence he came by sea, and thither by the Rhyne from Collen, without taking land. But I think now he will at his return visit the Prince of Auredg.¹ Thus your Lordship hath all my knowledg.

¹ Orange.

Her Majestie removeth on Tuesday, which daye I mean to be at Westminster, if I may. My Lord Grey is making hym ready for Ireland.

From the Court at Nonsuch, this Sunday, the . . . of June, 1581.

Your Lordship's most assured,

W. BURGHLEY.

THOMAS CHURCHYARD* TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, having tried my uttermost fortune, and passed the fire of affliction, through a perillous pilgrimage, not voyde of many deadly dangers, and imminente miseries, I am come, prostrate in minde, and falling downe on my knees before my Lord Governour of Barwicke, submytting myself to the Queene's Majestie's mercye, and my Lorde's good favour, always hoping that your Honour hath in mynde the promise which I made you, for a piece of service that I meante with hazard of my life to discover for the discharge of my dutie to my prince and country; leaving certain notes by worde of mouthe and also in paper for that purpose with you. And yet hearing no answer of sundry letters which I sent you after my great misfortune, I remayned three months in Englande, drawing myself downe towards Scotland, (as I wrote unto you,) by the meane of Monsieur Mauvissière,† of whom I brake

* Thomas Churchyard was born at Shrewsbury in 1520, and had been a domestic in the family of Lord Surrey, who is said to have encouraged him to turn poet. He afterwards turned soldier, was in many battles, frequently wounded, and twice made prisoner. He published a vast number of tracts, both in verse and prose, and at different times was patronised by several of the great nobles at court. He died in 1604.

† " This Monsieur Mauvissière was then the French ambassador resident in Englande, who used Churchyard as a spy for English newes and advertisements of . . . and entertained him with money to that end: and to do hym some service in that kynde, he sent hym into

with you many tymes, before my departure. But when I entred Scotlande, I found thinges fall out farr otherwise then I looked for: and so I must either sweare to be trewe to the Kynge in that extremytie, or else departe I knew not whither. If I had practised with Mr. Randall, it had been present death to me, (besides he disgraced me all he could,) and if I had written to yor Honor, I had surely smarted for it. So that sufferance and silence was my only succour. All which notwithstanding I obtained licence at length to make my supplication to the noble parliament house, but I could finde no messengers, till Sir John Seaton went, whom I importunated daily to obtayne me favour for my returne home agayne. But God knoweth, everythinge went awrye, and I stuck faste in the stockes, among many wild wolves and cruell tygers in the shapes of men, who would have worryed and torne me in pieces, had not the Kinge's goodness garded me, such is their uncivill manner and malice, and such kancred stomaks they beare to an Englishmah. I gave the Kinge a booke before I departed thence, which manifested muche their rudeness. If I had tarryed there never so littell longer, no doubt it had cost me my life, but God be thanked for a faire escape.

Most miserable wretch that I am! howe cursed I may secme, after all these stormes, if I have lost her Majestie's favor. I desire not to live longer then I maye enjoye her good opinion; I crave no more for all my service, then her gracious countenance, and that not graunted, I wishe I were either buryed quicke, or that the seas had swallowed me. I never meante to offende her Highness willinglie, I take God to witnes: and when I was sworne at the counsell boarde of Scotland,* all the Lords can testifie that I protested openly I

Scotland about some exploit agreed on between them two, which was the cause that Mr. Randall, the Queene's ambassador at that tyme in Scotland, much disliked his being there, suspecting that he was there for no good to the state of Englande."—*Note in the margin of the original.*

* "He was sworne at the Counsell Board of Scotland to be trewe to the Kinge."—*Note in the margin of the MS.*

would never be false to the Queene's Majestie and my coun-trye. And so, with a trewe face and a cleere conscience, I have humbled my boddy and life to her mercie. Wherefore, as I have ever bouldly reposed my hope wholly in your honorable goodness, so I beseech you vouchsafe me some comforte, who still praieth for the increase of your good giftes of grace and preservation of honor.

From Bardwicke, the 23rd of June, 1581.

Yor Honor's humbly at commandement,

THOMAS CHURCHYARD.

THOMAS CHURCHYARD TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, your honorable and courteous taking of my small paynes, with the great regard which you had of my patience in these troubles, dothe comfort me so muche, as my happinesse in sending unto you and your goodness in accepting my letters are at strife the one with the other, which of them both do best deserve the victory. But finding it follie, by late experience, to depende on fortune, and resting wholly uppon God's direction, and on the goodness of my friends, your favourable acceptation of my poore present doth richly rewarde me for my worke, and conquereth both my fortune, and all other vayne hope that my presumptuous pen might give me. God, that worketh all goodness by worthie instruments, hath offered me greate good hope, and wrought a perfect meane to restore me to liberty. The man's wife, whose husbände I serve, is contented to abandon her sute, and henceforth to surcease her malice; so that I hope I shall presently departe from prison, though not able (poore wretche as I am!) to departe with any money. The divers occasions of expence in my restraint, have taken from me the best part of my purse, and only left me the bare stringes to play withall. I blushe, being olde, to begg, and yet not

ashamed to receive, being a courtier. A souldier shoulde rather snatch, than stande at worlde's benevolence: but no man appoynts his own portion, and men often fare the worse for snatching too bouldly. Well, I wante, and howe to gett requyres a cunning reache. And then is simplicitie butt a very blunt hooke, to take that which may supplie a man's necessitie. Why feare I my feebleness? the fortune of poettes hath been ever poore and needye. Homer had but one eye, and knewe not where to dyne. Ovid had two eyes, and yet could see but fewe that did him good. Vergill, Petrarch, Dante, Marshall, Marrott, and many mo, were poore and riche, but not to continue; and may not I presume among them, as poore as the least, and a writer not always among the worst, though not a poett, yet one that hath used both pen and sworde, with poett's fortune as well as they, to my owne hindrance? Your Honor seeth my deserts, and may easily helpe them when you please, with some small remembrance of your bountie and goodness. I write not this to crave, but only desire some meanes to enlarge me, the sooner to drive away this indigence. Your Honor's servante, or whosoever please you, may now be welcome, and visite me when they will in this sweete comfort and expectation of present libertie, and bringe that with them which a prisoner is glad to see, and will be most joyfully willing to receive, whatsoever shall proceede from your accustomed goodness, whom I commit to the grace of God.

From the Palace of Repentance, the 10th of July, 1581.

Humbly at your Honor's commandment,

T. CHURCHYARD.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, though I cannot alwayes pay my debts, yet I use to acknowledg them many tymes, to move my creditors to accept my good will in towardnes of payement ; and so at this tyme, though I knowe myself many wayes indebted unto you for your good will, except you will accept for acquyttal my reciproque good will, I shall not be able to pay you that I owe you. Yet yesterdaye being advertised of your good and honorable dealing with her Majestie, in the case of my daughter of Oxford, I would not suffer my thanks to growe above one daye olde, and therefore in these few lines I do presentlie thanke you, and do praye you in any proceeding therin not to have the Earle dealt withall straynably, but only by waye of advise, as good for himself. For otherwise he may suspecte that I regard myself more for my daughter than he is regarded for his libertie. I knowe only the Quene's Majestie's motions shall further the cause, and more then her motions I wishe not. You see, being a debtor, I prescribe my manner to increase the debt, but, if I cannot acquit it, I knowe it belongeth to Almightye God to do it.

I am most sorrie to heare of the disaster fallen oute yesterdaye betwixte two great plannets,* but I hope they knowe their Jupiter, and will obey her Majestie rather to contente her, than to follow their owne humors. It is far out of season to have these breaches ; our adversaries are ever ready to make them greater, and to leap in also, to our common harme.

I am not yet fully recovered ; this north-west wynde keepeth me back from my porte of health, which God send you ever, with increase of honor. 13th July, 1581.

Your's assuredly,

W. BURGHEY.

* These two planets are said to have been the Earls of Leicester and Sussex.

THO. CHURCHYARD TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

My dutie most humbly remembered, your Honor knoweth my calamitie; long letters purchase small benefitt, as the weight of my sorrow sheweth; God and good men must helpe, and in the number of the good yourselfe is one, in my poore judgment, that maye and will do what may most relieve me. I beseech you, then, weigh my afflictions, and so worke as the world may behold your integritie and upright dealing, to God's glory and your owne immortall fame. I lye in myserie, stayned in credit, cutt off from the world, hated of some that loved me, holpen of none, and forsaken of all, for what juste cause I knowe not. My distresse is great, my calling simple and not able to avayle any thing without the assistance of your goodness; for God's sake brynge me to my answer, and as you shall see it fall out my accusers can prove nothing against me, vouchsafe me speedie remedie, or at least the justice of the lawe and the benefit of my countrie, and if I have failed of my dutie willinglie, let me feelee the price of it. I crave no pardone, but humbly sue for favorable expedition, for the which I appeale to your honorable judgment, and praye for your good successe in all your desyres.

From the Marshalse, the 20th July, 1581.

Your Honor's in all faithfull devotion,

T. CHURCHYARD.

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH TO LORD BURGHELY.*

My dutie unto your good Lordshippe most humblie remembered, may it please your Lordshippe to understand,

* Edmond Freake, who was removed from the see of Rochester to that of Norwich, on the death of Bishop Parkhurst. In 1584, he was again translated to Worcester, and died there in 1590.

that thought Mr. Browne's* late coming into my diocese, and teaching strange and dangerous doctrine, in all disordered manner, hadde greatlie troubled the whole countrie, and brought manie to great disobedience of all lawe and magistrates ; yet by the good ayde and helpe of my Lorde Chiefe Justice, and Mr. Justice Anderson, his associate, the chiefest of such factions were so greatlie dismaied, as I verilie hoped of muche good and quietnes to have thereof ensued, hadde not the saide Browne now returned, contrarie to my expectation, and greatly prejudiced these their good proceedings, who having private meetings in suche close and secrett manner, as that I know not possible, how to suppress the same, I am verie sorie to forsee that, towching this my dioces, which must needes in shorte tyme by hym and other disordered persons, which onlie seeke the disturbance of the church, be brought to passe. And therefore, the carefull dutie I ought to have to the countrie being my charge, enforceth me to crave most earnestlie your Lordship's helpe in suppressing him especiallie, that no farther inconvenience followe by this his returne ; and procuring my Lorde Chiefe Justice, and Mr. Anderson, suche thanks from her Majestie for their painfull travell in that behalfe, that therebie they maie be encouraged to go still forwardes in the same. And herewithall, if it woulde please your Lordshipe to give me your good advise, how to prevent suche dangers, as throughe the strange dealings of some of the gentlemen in Suffolk, about Burie, is like to ensue, I should be muche bounde to your Honor for the same : which gentlemen in winking at, if not of pollicie procuring the disordered sorte to go forwardes in their evil attemptes, and discouraging the staied and wiser sorte of preachers (as by sundrie letters which I sende your Lordship by this bringer, may appeare more plainlie unto your Honor), will in tyme, I feare me, hazarde the overthrow of all religion,

* This was Robert Browne, the founder of the sect called Brownists, and afterwards known by the name of Independents.

if it be not in due time wiselie prevented. And thus, leaving the rest to the further declaration of this bringer, I humblie betake your good Lordship to the protection of Almighty God.

From Ludham, this seconde of August, 1581.

Your good Lordship's humblie at commandement,
EDMUND NORWICH.

LORD GREY OF WILTON TO SIR CHR. HATTON.

Sir, as your manifolde curtesies have given me cause, so could I not chuse, reputing you in the number of my best frendes there, but yield you my right hartie thanks for the same, taking the opportunity of this messenger expresly to salute you. I forbear to trouble you with the particulars of my late jorney into the northe partes, for because I knowe you shall be partakers of them by my letters which I sent unto their Lordships. If her Majestie would have been pleased to have graunted my demandes, I would not have doubted, with the assistance of God, but to have settled some better order in this jorney, as well in suppressing the pride of Tirlough, as also in expulsing the Scottes. But being now tyed to those directions which were set downe by the table there, and her Majestie's disposition to peace, I have done my best endeavour to follow the one and to satisfye the other. I have, against my will, concluded, or rather patched up, a peace with Tirlough, being such indede as I can neither repose any assurance in for a continuance of it, nor, for the honor of it, justlie commend it. The best is that, by this occasion, some tyme may be wonne, to yield us the more libertie to deale with the mountayne rebells, against whom I purpose, with God's helpe, to bende myself with all present speede. I beseeche you to have in remembrance the gentilman whom before my departure thence you so often commended unto me, I meane Ned Denny, that through your

honorable mediation he may finde her Majestie gracious in his ould sute, without the which his forwardnes to continue her Majestie's service will bring him to late repentance, and depely touch him in credit. I most earnestly pray you, therefore, to stande to hym, and you shall no lesse increase my bande towards you, through your good favour vouch-saved hym therin, then bynd the gentilman hymself to remayne ever yours in all faythfull devotion. And so I commit you to God.

From Dublyn, the 12th of August, 1581.

Your assured frende and most loving cosen,

A. GREY.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM* TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My verie good Lord, yesternight we had newes here that Monsieur should be entered into Cambray, whereat as so many in the court did rejoyce as are well affected to this crowne, so did those that favor Spayne heare verie unwillingly of it. This good successe was followed by a hard happe of the taking of the Viscount of Turrayne, who, as your Lordship shall understand by our common letters, seeking to enter the towne with about fower score and ten horse in his company, was taken by th'enemye before the gates, and the greater part of the rest slayne uppon the place.

Monsieur hath now referred himself for the matter of the league to such resolution as the King shall take therein, being well contented if the King be so pleased, that he shall go forward with our mariadge, so there be nothing that may any way tend to the prejudice of the mariadge. And thus, hav-

* Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Henry Cobham were this summer sent into France to negotiate matters relating to the projected marriage. The Duke of Anjou was at the head of the French auxiliaries, aiding in the Low Countries against the Spaniards, supplied chiefly with English money.

ing nothing ells to impart unto your Lordship at this present,
I humbly take my leave.

At Paris, the 20th of August, 1581.

Your Lordship's to commande,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH* TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

I may not forgett continually to put your Honor in minde of my affection unto your Lordship, having to the world both expressed and protested the same. Your Honor having no use of such poore followers, hath utterly forgotten me, notwithstanding if your Lordship shall please to think me yours and I am, I will be found as ready and dare do as much in your service as any man you may commande, and do neither so much despaire of myself but that I may be some way able to performe as much. I have spent some tyme here under the deputy in suche poore place and chardge, as were it not for that I knewe him to be one of yours, I wold dysdayn as much as to keep sheepe. I will not troble your Honor with the busines of this lost land, for that Sir Warram Sentleger can best of any man deliver unto your Lordship, the good, the bad, the mischeife, the meanes to amend, and all in all of this commonwelthe or rather common-woe. He

* Sir Walter Raleigh was the son of Walter Raleigh, Esq. of Fardel in Devonshire, and was born in 1552, at Hayes, a farm in the parish of East Badley in that county. He was educated at Oxford, and learnt the art of war in France, under the banners of the Protestants, where he was present at the battle of Moncontour. He afterwards served in the Netherlands, and was with Sir John Norris at the famous action at Rimenant. He next engaged in a voyage of adventure to America, and on his return went to Ireland, where he served at the siege of Smerwick.

hopeth to find your Honor his assured good Lorde, and your Honor may moste assuredly command hym; he is lovingly inclyned towards your Honor, and your Lordship shall win by your favor towards hym, a wyse, faythfull, and valiant gentleman, whose worde and deeds your Honor shall ever find to be one. Thus having no other matter, but only I desire the continuance of your Honor's favor, I shall take my leave. From the Campe of Leismore, in Ireland, August the 25th.

Your Honor's faithfull and obedient,

W. RAULEY.

I am bold, being bound by very conscience, to commend unto your Honor's consideration the pitifull estate of John Fitts Edmonds, of Cloyne, a gentleman, and the only man untoucht and proved true to the Quene both in this and the last rebellion. Sir Warram can declare his service what he is, and what he deserveth.

THE QUEEN TO SIR EDWARD STAFFORD.*

Stafford, as I greatly regard your poor man's diligence, so will I not leave him unrewarded. For the charge I have written to Monsieur that I have given in to you, this it is: first for the commissioners authorities I have good reason to require that they may be as I desyred, both for present mislikes as well as for after mishaps. It happened in Queen Mary's days that when a solemn ambassade of five or six at the least were sent from the emperor and King of Spain, even after the articles were signed, sealed, and the matter divulged, the danger was so near the Queen's chamber-door, that it was

* Sir Edward Stafford was sent envoy to France, chiefly to observe the behaviour of the French towards the Low Countries, of which the sovereignty had been offered to the Duke of Anjou.

high time for those messengers to depart without leave-taking, and bequeathed themselves to the speed of the river-stream, and by water passed with all possible haste to Gravesend, and so away. I speak not this that I fear the like, but when I make collection of sundry kinds of discontentments all tied in a bundle, I suppose the faggot will be harder altogether to be broken. There is even now another accident fallen out of no small consequence to this realme. I am sure the States have accorded to the demands of Monsieur, and do present him the sovereignty of all the Low Countries. Suppose, now, how this may make our people think well of him, and of me to bring them to the possession of such neighbours. O Stafford! I think not myself well used, and so tell Monsieur that I am made a stranger to myself, who he must be, if this matter take place. In my name shew him how impertinent it is for this season, to bring to the ears of our people so untimely news. God forbid that the banes of our nuptial feast should be savoured with the sauce of our subject's wealth! O what may they think of me that for any glory of my own would procure the ruin of my land. Hitherto they have thought me no fool: let me not live the longer the worse. The end crowneth all the work. I am sorry that common posts of London can afford me surer news than the inhabitants of towns will yield me. Let it please Monsieur to suspend his answer unto them till he send some unto me of quality and of trust to communicate and concur with that I may think best for both our honours: for I assure him it shall too much blot his fame if he deale otherwise, not only in my sight unto whom it hath pleased him to promise more than that, but especially to all the world, that be overseers of his actions. Let him never procure her harm whose love he seeks to win. My mortal foe can no ways wish me a greater losse than England's hate, neither should death be less welcome unto me than such mishap betide me. You see how nearly this matter wringeth me, use it accordingly. If it please him the deputies may have the charge of this matter

joined with the other two that were aforementioned. I dare not assure Monsieur how this greater matter will end untill I be assured what way he will take with the Low Countries; for rather will I never meddle with marriage, than have such a bad covenant added to my part. Shall it be ever found true that Queen Elizabeth hath solemnized the perpetuall harm of England under the glorious title of marriage with Francis, heir of France? No, no: it shall never be. Monsieur may fortune ask you "why should not the Low Countries be governed by the indwellers of that country as they were wont, and yet under my superiority as well as the King of Spain did?" I answer, the case is too far different, since the one is far off by seas distance, and the other near upon the continent. We willingly will not repose our whole trust so far in the French nation, as we will give them in pawn all our fortune, and afterward stand to their discretion. I hope I shall not live to that hour. Farewell, with my assurance that you will serve with faith and diligence. In haste.

Your Sovereign,

ELIZABETH.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO LORD BURGHLEY AND THE
EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lords, your ablenes and redynes to do good in these peryllous dayes of trayterous practises both 'agaynst God and agaynst her Majestie, doth bolden me to presume to remember your Lordships, that by your meanes order may be taken, that the two authors and favorers of the setting forthe of Castalio his books*, with the abuses of the Bishop of London in that behalfe, may be diligently examyned and bowlted out, that hypocrisy herin used being known, the

* Sebastian Castalio was a famous Calvinist of Basil, born in 1515, and died in 1563. There were editions of his *Dialogi Sacri* printed at London in 1555, 1573, and 1580.

pestilent doctryne therof may be the more sowndly suppressed: for it seemeth to me that these free-will men, or anabaptisticall sectaries, do followe the same scoope that the deified men of the Family of Love* do follow, saving that the same perfection that the Famly of Love do pretend to obtayne by the vertue of love, the same perfection do Castalio his sectaries pretend to obtayne by the doctryne of faythe. But it is not by faythe in believing to be saved by the merytes of Christ, but by a faythe in believing that every man is able to fulfyll the lawe of God, and that the cause why men do not fulfyll the lawe is the wante of this Castalio his beliefe.

Nowe both these sectes do serve the turnes of the Papistes, as all free-wyll men and justiciaries or justifiers of themselves do, yet this difference is betweene the Papistes and those sectaries, I do meane touching their practises here in England; for these Sectaries are more hypocriticall, and woll sooner denye their doctryne and assertions to avoyde punyshment, then the Papistes woll. But the Papistes secrete practysers by those Jesuytes, in going from howse to howse to withdraw men from the obedyence of her Majestie, unto the obedyence of the false catholicke church of Roome, hathe and will indanger her Majestie's person and state more then all the sectes of the worlde, if no exequation shall followe uppon the trayterous practysers that are for the same apprehended; or at the least, if exequation shall not followe uppon such of them as woll not openly and playnly recante.

* The sect who called themselves the Family of Love, or House of Charity, was imported from Holland, and made a great noise about this time. They persuaded their followers that those only were elect and to be saved, who were admitted into their family, and that all the rest of the world would be inevitably damned. They dispersed many of their fanatical books about the country, translated out of Dutch into English, and bearing such titles as "The Gospel of the Kingdom," "Documentall Sentences," "The Prophecy of the Spirit of Love," and "The Publishing of Peace upon Earth." Against these books, and people who favoured and distributed them, a severe proclamation had been made on the 9th of October, 1580.

Thus desyring your Lordships, that are the two heads of the two unyversities of England, to pardon my boldnes herin, becawse I, that am an unworthie person and halfe an abjecte, do expect great good things at your Lordships' handes, which hath emboldened me herunto, and so I take leave of your Lordships. At London, going into my cuntrye, to the Quarter-sessions at Oxford, the 29th of September, 1581.

Your good Lordships' to comand,

F. KNOLLYS.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

After my hartie commendations to your good Lordship, whereas I understand her Majestie is offended with certain disorders in Essex, and especially with such exercises as are thought to be had and contynued in the Lord Riche his howse,† the minister whereof is one Wright, (ordained I cannot tell how nor where), it maie please your good Lordship to informe her Highnes, that in the late Lord Riche his tyme (father unto this nobleman) I had many great stormes at his hande for the staying of them, and now of late, within this fortnight, the now Lord Riche came to my howse to Fullham, together with his base uncle and another, to entreat me to licence the said Wright to preach in my Diocese, which because I utterly denyed, unles he would subscribe to the orders of this church, his said base uncle did so shake me up, as I was never so abused at any man's hand since I was borne. For the which I would have committed him, but that we were not three present together, to do it according to the

* John Aylmer, who succeeded Sandys in 1576, and died in 1598.

† Robert, third Lord Rich, of Lees Priory, in Essex. He succeeded his father to the titles and estates in 1581. He was with the Earl of Essex at the taking of Cadiz, and was by James I. created Earl of Warwick.

autoritie of the commission. Nevertheles we have determined to call him at our first sitting in the terme. As for the Lord Riche himself, I gave him great warning that he followed not his counsels in those matters; if he did, I must needs make her Majesty privie to it, and so I meant to do. Wright, that is their preacher, I cannot come by, unles we should send a power of men to fetch him out of a nobleman's house; for I have chardged both the father and the son to send him to me, and they both have promised, but never performed. Therefore, seeing that we do as farr as our commission giveth us leave, I trust her Majestie will think the best of our doings, and not either suffer us to be defaced of such busy-bodies, or be grieved with us for not doing that which our autoritie reacheth not unto. How I have struggled with them in this behalf these two whole yeres past, it is well-known to all that countrie, and yet, unless we should pull them owt by the ears, I know not how we should come by them.

Touching the conferences with Campion in the Tower, I wrote unto Mr. Lieutenant of my mislyking that so many were admitted to it, whose auctoritie is not to be directed there by me, but by her Majesty and your Lordships. And for the ill opinion that I had of it, I sent to staie it. The translating of Whittacre's book,* and the publishing thereof, I minde to staie, if it come to my hands. Thus, hoping that your Lordship will intreat her Majestie not to give ear to every information made against us, but rather to consider into what peaceable tranquillitie God, by my poor service, hath brought not only London and my whole dioces, but also the most part of England, since I came to this place, and where-by I have (as I think in my conscience) rather deserved her

* William Whitaker was one of the most eminent divines of this reign. He was borne at Holme in Lancashire, in 1547, and died in 1595, and was a voluminous and able writer. He wrote a book in Latin in answer to Campion's "Ten Reasons," which was printed in 1581.

gracious favour, then discouragement, for I am hated on the other side like a dogge, and am called the oppressor of the children of God, I take my leave of your good Lordship, beseeching God to blesse you.

Fullham, the 29th of September, 1581.

Your good Lordship's most assuredly in Christe,
JOHN LONDON.

CHRISTOPHER HODDESDON TO ———.

(Andwarpe, 15 October, 1581.)

The overthrowe in Frizeland* was very greate, and the fight long, so as th'enemie stooode longe in termes to be overthrown, if the rest of the States' horsemen had donne their duties as well as Captaine Williams his cornet, who brake through th'enemie a greate waye and came back in the middst of them. Two barrells of powder that fyred by chaunce made the first disorder amongst the States men, and their owne horsemen in the retraite coming close upon them moved the enimie to passe on their men forwards.

The fight and execution dured very long, and most of th'ensignes taken by th'enemie, which they drew along the streetes of Groeninghen, and about the church, where they went fourtene times, and with the fyve pieces of ordynance by them also gotten. The chief of the field who did this feate is said to be hurte, with divers other of their leaders, and men of charge.

Norryes is, God be thanked, without daunger, only is like to loose one of his fingers, and his brother's hurte mendeth.

Divers lieutenants and others that were missing are come home againe, and sundry taken that were thought slayne, but four or five captaynes are deade.

Notwithstanding this conflict and overthrowe, the States

* This was the battle of Northorne.

men will shortely agayne in field, abled to keep th'enemie from doing any greate harme, who since his victorie is still and beginnes to sing for money.

Endouen being pressed by assaultes, and not sufficient power within longer to withstand the same, yelded by composition to depart with their armor and ensignes. Those that where sent to reskew it, being not in meanes equall by the third part, and the country verie plaine, and no retreatate within a great way, did not think convenient to adventure their men, being the garrisons of many places.

Monsieur, who was so earnestly expected, is said not to come this winter, so as the preparations that were a making both at Gaunt, Brudge, and other places, to resist him, are stayed.

Th'enemie on the suddayne in Flaunders with all his forces went to Tornay, whither the cannon was brought, and a shoue was made as if he woulde have laid seige thereunto, knowing therin to be but three or four companies of men; but to mete with this show the Prince of Pinoij his lieutenant used suche a course with the burghers that all promised to stand to it, and such as would not take an oathe by him and the magistrats devised shoulde depart the towne, so there is not heard of any things to be done by th'enemie.

SIR PHILIP SYDNEY TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Right honorable, I have spoken with my father touching Poorescourt,* which Mr. Denny sues for. He tells me assuredly that it is most necessary some Englishe gentelman should have it, being a place of greate importaunce, and fallen to her Majestie by rebellion of the owner. As for him that sueth for it in the Court, he is indeede a good honest fellowe, according to the broode of that nation; but being a bastard,

* Powerscourt near Dublin.

he hath no lawe to recover it, and he is muche too weake to keepe it. So that your Honour may do well, if it please you, to followe this good turn for Mr. Denny, who can and will endeavor to deserve it of her Majestie, and do you service for it in all faythfull good-will whensoever you shall commande him. And so I humbly take my leave, and rest at your devotion. From the Courte, the 17th of October, 1581.

Your Honor's humbly at commandement as you
have bounde me,

P. S.

SIR JOHN HAWKYNs TO MR. BOLLAND.

I have received your letter of the 19th of this present, together with a letter inclosed from Sir Francys Drake, of the 14th of the same.

I wold be glad my ability and state were such as I might be an adventurer in this jorney; but I assure you I had so great a burden layd upon me in this last preparation, that with all the means that I can make I am hardly able to overcome the debt I owe her Majestie and kepe my credit. It is well knowen to you, Mr. Bolland, to whom I dyd at large declare my losses and burdens, besyde the shipping and other dead provisions which lay upon my handes.

My syknes doth continually abyde with me, and every second day I have a fytt; if I looke broade in the ayre but one howre, I can hardly recover it in six daies with good order, so as I am hartely sorry that I cannot attende upon my very good Lord,* whom I am desyrous to satisfye according to my abylytie, if I had strength, for I am more lyke to provyde for my grave then incomber me with worldly matters.

There cannot lacke neither adventurers nor anything that is good, to the furtherance of so good an attempt, which enter-

* The Earl of Leicester.

prise I have had always a very good lyking unto for the farder benefytting of our countrey, which God, I hope, will send to a good and prosperous end, and so I hartely take my leave.

From Chattham, the 20th of October, 1581.

Your assured and loving friend,

JOHN HAWKYNES.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Righte honorable and my singular good Lorde, this present Saturday being the 21st of this present moneth of October, Mr. Fanshawe, Mr. Basshe, Mr. Colshill, Mr. Leake, Mr. Clarke, and myself, mette at Tottenham for th'examination and boulting oute of certain misorders comytted by sondry lewde personnes in cutting downe the bankes of the river Lee,¹ to th'intente not only to hynder, but even to overthrowe the passage betwene Ware and London. And throughe the diligent care of Mr. Fanshaw, the chiefe offenders were brought before us; and by examynations of such as we dealte withall in the forenone, we coulede learne nothing, whereby we were halfe discouraged: but in th'afternone one poore man, that was a doer, and being examined upon his oathe in the forenone, at which tyme he comytted manyfest perjurie, did for feare he should have gone to Newgate confesse moste of all the mysdemeanors and who were the doers, and then we examyned those whom he had accused, wherof some were Mr. Wrothe's men, and the residue were of Enfelde. Of these, one of Mr. Wrothe's men, being his horsekeper, did after muche ado take his oathe and confesse all the truthe, and that he himself was a principall doer; the other of Mr. Wrothe's men, being his purveyor of wheate and malt, did commit wilfull perjurie, and would confesse nothing, though he were charged by them that were at the acte doing.

¹ The river Lea.

Certain other being sworne, having used certain rebellious and seditious words, did utterlye denye the same, althoughe they were confronted with severall wytnesses upon their oathes. Some others, being chiefe offenders, did bothe utterly refuse to take any oathe, and also denyed to be examyned. The constable of the hundred, called Goddard, being a chiefe mayntayner and comforter of the said offenders, was sworne before us and examyned, and upon his oathe he hath concealed not only the truthe, but also entered into certain peremptory arguments in defence of these misdemeanors, and did not stick to publyshe some clamorous speeches, tending towards a rebellious sturr of sundry townshippes as had nothing a do with the matter, as Awdenham for example.

In th'ende of all our travell, being towarde nighte, there came in substantiall prooffe of a matter, that we were all sory for, and that was Mr. Wrothe* had mysdemeaned himselfe withoute the compas of all reason, in speaking publicly certain words against the Queen's Highnes and the councell. The words tended in myne opynion very much towards a rebellion, and were suche as in good reason may not lightlie be passed over. He was not with us himselfe; but as touching the constable of the hundred, for that he dwelling within lesse than a mile of the place could by no meanes either knowe or heare, or ells did enquire of the saide mysdemeanors, but commytting wilfull perjurye, did with many strong arguments (as he thoughte) defende the foresaide mysdemeanors, we have commytted hym to Newgate, and two or three more that dyd the lyke. And those that did confesse the trewth we dismyssed home to their owne howses, untill they should be called for agayne. This constable of the hundred, Goddard, was placed this last yere by the importunate sute of Mr. Wrothe, and one Searle of Edmonton, being an honest man, was put from the same office upon a small occasion,

* Sir Thomas Wroth, who had much property in Enfield and the neighbourhood, and farmed a stream which ran into the Lea, on which he had some mills.

and thereupon commytted to Newgate, where he remayned a weeke. In myne opynion it were mete that Curle were restored to his offyce, and that this man were put owte for his lewde demeanor.

I have served in many commissions, bothe in the Northe and Southe, a long tyme, and I assure your Lordship I never mett with suche stubborne varletts as those be that appeared before us this daie. Uppon Frydaie nexte we mete agayne for the examining of the reste, and making up our booke.

I have persuaded my fellowes to mete at London at the sessions halle of Newgate, the which is a fitter scholehowse for suche lewde people as these are, then Tottenham is. And this is the sum and effecte of our travell for this daie. We satt at Mr. Sherife Martyn's howse at Tottenham, where he sent his cooks and made us a greate dynner. It was informed us credibly that, upon Mondaie last, Mr. Wrothe made a marvelous greate sturr at the Swanemote in the forrest, wherby her Majestye's servise was greatly hyndered, and the officers there greatly disquieted. I feare the gentleman be over mucche puffed in pride, with over mucche lyving and wealthe. I have alwaies loved his father and hym well, and therfore I do wishe the things that be amysse were amended. Thus most humblie I take my leave of your good Lordship, this Saturdaie night, 1581.

Your Lordship's most humble to my small power,

W. FLETEWOODE.

W. FLETEWOOD TO MR. SECRETARY.

May it please your Honor, I am bolder of you than doth become me, and specyally in wryting of matters unpleasant. The truthe is that within these two dayes Mr. Norton's mother hath drowned herself. His father being very aged and

extreme sick, is not lyke to lyve. His habitation is near to Bedford.

But to make your Honor the better acquainted with this matter, it is so that this woman was but mother-in-lawe to Tho. Norton. She in her youth was brought up in Sir Thomas More's howse, in which place she dyd learne the idolatries, toys, and usages in the night seasons, as thereby she was ledd by evill spirits some tyme to hange herself, and some tyme to drowne herself. Some parte of her lewd demeanor was in the lewd exercise of Nicromancia; that is to saye, in conference and speeches had (as she thought) with dead bodies, being of her old acquayntance. But the cause why I am so bold to write this to your Honor is this: this woman hath left behind her divers children, who are but half brothers to Tho. Norton, the which are shrewddie given. And if the old man should die, it is to be feared all his goods will come to a spoile; and therefore, if Mr. Peter Osborne had any commandement, I think he could devise some good order for the saving of things that may be lost. I beseeche your Honor to make my Lord Treasurer acquaynted with this unfortunate cause, for surely I am loathe to trouble his Honor with such unpleasant matters.

Your Lordship's bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

SIR PHILIP SYDNEY TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, I do here sende you my booke ready drawen and prepared for her Majestie's signature, in such order as it should be; which I humbly beseech you to get signed accordinglie, with as much speede as you may convenientlie, for the thing of itself in many respects requyreth haste, and I finde my present case more pitied than perchance it could be hereafter, when happily resolution either way will be hard to gett, and make my suite the more tedious. Mr. Popham thought it would be littell or nothing worth unto me, because so many

have oftentimes so fruitlessly laboured in it: and this is the generall opinion of all men, which I hope will make it have the easier passage: but indeede, I am assured the thinge is of good value, and therefore, if it shall please you to pass any thinge in my booke, you shall command it as your owne, for as much or as littell as yourselfe shall resolve of; it will do me no hurte that seeke only to be delyvered out of the comber of debtes; and if it may do your Honor pleasure in any-thinge of importance, I shall be hartily glad of it. I passe nothinge by any other instrument, than by your owne servante, and it shall greatly contente me that the suite is of such a nature as I may have meanes at the last to shewe how ready I am to requite some parte of your favours towards me. If it is not done before this day sevensnight, I shall be in greate feare of it; for being once knowen it will be surelie crost, and perhappes the time will not be so good as it is at the presente, which of all other thinges putteth me in greatest confidence of good success with the helpe of your honorable favor. If you finde you cannot prevaile, I beseech you lett me knowe it as soon as may be, for I will even shamelesly once in my life, bringe it her Majestie myselfe: neede obeys no lawe, and forgets blushing: nevertheless, I shall be much the more happier, if it please you indeede to bynde me for ever by helping me in these combers. And so praying for your good successe in everythinge, and in this especially, (my greatest hope of comfote,) I humbly take my leave.

From Barnard's Castel, the 13th of November, 1581.

Your Honour's humbly at commandement,

P. SIDNEY.

SIR PHILIP SYDNEY TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Right Honorable, I must ever contynue to thanke you, because you alwayes continue to bynde me, and for that I have

M 2

no other meanes to acknowledge the bande, but my humble thanks. Some of my friendes counsell me to stande uppon her Majestie's offer, touching the forfeiture of papists' goodes. Truly, Sir, I knowe not howe to be more sure of her Highnes in that, then I thought myself in this. But though I were, in truthe it goeth against my harte to prevent a Prince's mercie. My necessitie is greate. I beseech you, vouchsafe me your honorable care and good advise: you shall hold a harte from falling, that shall be ever yours. And so I humbly take my leave.

At Salisbury, the 18th of December, 1581.

Your Honour's humbly at commandment,

P. SYDNEY.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELY.

My singular good Lord, upon Thursdaye at even her Majestie in her coache were in Islyngton for taking of the aire. Her Highnes was environed with a number of rogues. One Mr. Stone, a footeman, came in all haste to my Lord Maior, and after to me, and told us of the same.

I dyd the same night send warrants out into the sayd quarters, and into Westminster and the Duchie, and in the morning I went abroad myself, and I tooke that daye 74 roogs, whereof some were blind, and yet great usurers, and very riche. And the same daye towards night I sent for Mr. Harrys and Mr. Smithe, and the Governors of Bridewell, and took all the names of the roogs, and sent them from the Sessions hall unto Bridewell, where they remayned that night. Upon Twelf Daye in the forenoone, the Master of the Rolls, myself, and others, receaved a charge before my Lords of the Counsell as touching roogs and masterles-men, and to have a privie searche. The same daye at after dyner (for I dynd at the Rolls) I mett the Governors of Bridewell; so that afterwards we examined all the sayd roogs, and gave them

substantial payment. And the strongest we bestowed in the mylne, and the lighters. The rest were dismysst with a promise of double paye if we mett with them agayne.

Upon Sondaye, being *crastino* of the Twelf Daye, I dyned with Mr. Deane of Westminster, when I conferred with hym tonching Westminster and the Duchie, and then I tooke order for Sowthwarke, Lambeth, and Newington, from whence I receyved a shoal of 40 roogs, men and women, and above. I bestowed theym in Bridewell. I dyd the same afternowne peruse Pooles,¹ where I tooke abowt 20 cloked roogs, that there use to kepe standing; I placed them also in Bridewell.

The next morning, being Monday, the Master of the Rolls and the rest tooke order with the constables for a privie searche against Thursdaye at night, and to have the offenders brought to the Sessions hall upon Frydaye in the morninge, where we the justices shold mete. And against the same tyme, my Lord Maior and I dyd the lyke in London and Sowthwarke.

The same afternoone the Masters of Bridewell and I mett, and after every man being examined, eache one receyved his payment according to his deserts. At which tyme the strongest were put to worke, and the other dismissed into their countries. The same daye the Master of the Savoye was with us, and sayd he was sworne to lodge *claudicantes*, *egrotantes*, *et peregrinantes*. And the next morning I sente the constables of the Duchie to the hospitall, and they brought unto me sixe tall fellowes, that were draymen unto brewers, and were neither *claudicantes*, *egrotantes*, nor *peregrinantes*. The constables, if they might have had their own wills, would have brought as many more. The Master dyd wryte a very curteous letter unto us to pardon them. And although he wrote charitably unto us, yet

¹ St. Paul's.

were they all sowndly payed, and sent home to their masters.

All Tuesday, Weddensdaye, and Thursdaye, there came in no small number of roogs; they were rewarded all according to their deserts. Upon Frydaye mornynge, at the Justice Hall, there were brought in above a hundred lewd people, taken in privie searche. The Masters of Bridewell receyved them, and immediately gave them punishment.

This Satterdaye, after causes of conscience heard by my Lord Maior and me, I dined and went to Polls, and into other places, as well within the libertes as elsewhere, and I found not one rooge stirring. Amongest all these thyngs, I dyd note that we had not of London, Westminster, nor Sowthwark, nor yet Middlesexe, nor Surrey, above 12, and those we have taken order for. The residue for the most were of Wales, Salop, Cestre, Somerset, Bowkingham, Oxford, and Essex; and that fewe or none of them had bene abowte London above three or four monethes. I dyd note also, that we mett not agayne with any in all our searches, that had receaved punishmente. The chiefe nurserie of all these evell people is the Savoye and the brickkilnes nere Islyngton. As for the brick-kylnes, we will take suche order that they shall be reformed. And I trust, by your good Lordship's help, the Savoye shall be amended; for surelie, as by experience I fynd it, the same place, as it is used, is not conducted to a good use or purpose. And this shall suffice for roogs.

Upon Weddensdaye last, a Frenche merchaunt, in a bagge sealed, delivered to a carrier's wife of Norwich 40*l.* to be carried to Norwich. She secretlie conveyed the money to a house a good way off from the Inne; and within halfe a quarter of an howre the Frenche merchaunt came agayne to see his money packed up. But the woman denied that ever she received one penny, with suche horrible protestations as I never heard of before. Mr. Secretarie Walsingham wrote me his letters for the ayde of the Frencheman, and after great

search made, the money was founde and restored. She not knowing of the same, I examined her in my studie private-lye, but by no meanes she wold not confesse the same, but dyd bequeath herself to the devell, both bodie and sowle, if she had the money or ever sawe it.

And this was her trust, that she then had not the money, and indeed she sayd the truth, for it was eyther at her frend's where she left it, or els delyvered. And then I per-ceiving her fewke, I asked her whether the Frenche merchaunt dyd not bring her a bagge sealed full of metall, that was weightie, were it eyther plates, coyne, cownters, or suche lyke.

Then quoth she, "I will aunswer no further." And then I used my Lord Maior's advise, and bestowed her in Bride-well, where the masters and I sawe her punished, and being well whipped, she sayd that the devell stood at her elbowe in my studie and willed her to denye it, but so soone as she was upon the crosse to be punished, he gave her over. And thus, my singular good Lord, I end this tragicall part of this wicked woman.

This mornyng the Deputie of Holborne and two of the Wardmote, brought me this examination. I send for the partie: he was brought before my Lord Maior and me, and we have commanded hym to warde, expecting your good Lordship's advise, as touching his offence.

Thus most humbly I send unto your good Lordship this last week's Diarye, ceasing at this tyme to trouble your Honor any farther.

At Bacon House, this 14th of January, 1581.

Your Lordship's most bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

THOMAS NORTON TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

It maye please your Honor, before any aunswer to your letter, to receave aunswer to your goodness, and that is no-

thing but thanks unto your virtue, and my prayer to God for your prosperitie, beseeching you to be assured that I am still, as you have ever knowne me, a true foole at the worst. For the matter of your letter, I am so throwne downe in harte, and in loathing of myne arrogancie, in offending her whom I least should, and never willinglie would, I take God to witnes, that since my last check, I never durst enter into any matter of state uncommanded; and I do so flee the perill of offence that way, that I have not conceived the hardines once to go aboute any such work. I feare lest the Queen's ould enemies and myne, the papistes, have spred this rumor of me to increase my trouble, as of one that even in restraynte cannot have grace or patience to be silent. Neverthesse, if I were commanded by my Lorde Treasurer, my singular good Lorde, to deale in it, whom it toucheth especially, and who, by employment in her Majestie's service that way, hath some understanding of this case, the papistes should knowe that howsoever I lye on the grounde, and crye on my knees to my soverayne lorde and lady, God and the Quene, that yet Norton, with a true man's harte and face, can and dare speake on tiptoe. And though I desire not to undertake any such worke, but do shunne it as stormes in a broade sea for a weake vescell, yet at commandement I will refuse no adventure, and having once performed it, I will then offer it to my Lord Treasurer and your Honors, to be done withall as they shall thynke best. And for the printing, I must not forgett that I have your Honor's letters. In the mean tyme I commend you to the Almighty, and myself, under him, to your goodness, beseeching you to give me your good testimonye to my Lorde Treasurer, of my obsequiousnes in her Majesty's service.

At my close prisone home, in London, * the 28th of Feb. 1581.

Your Honor's most humbly bounden,

THOMAS NORTON.

* In a letter in the same volume as this, dated April 10, 1582, and

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Right Honorable and my singular good Lord, I am right glad of your Lordship's amendment. I beseeche God to continue your Lordship in helthe. During the tyme of this Lent we have bene occupied with seminarie priests, masse-mongers, libellers, and suche lyke. It fell out in the first weke of Lent, that there was a booke cast abroad in commending of Cam-pion and his fellowes, and of their deathe. I pursued the matter so neare that I found the presse, the letters, the figures, and a number of the books, and being in this searche, one Osborne, a seminarie priest, came dropping into a chamber where Mr. Topcliff of the court and I were. Him we examined, and it appeared that he was a seminarie priest, and had dwelt in the hospitall at Rome thre yeres, and after he was professed into a howse of Franciscanes, being barefoote friars, that lived by begging, and labored, as he saithe, by cutting of wood and bearing of it upon their backs. They lie upon no bedds, but tumble in the strawe lyke swine; they use no shirts; they have no more garments but suche as they dayly weare, the which are slender, thinne, and extreme cold. Their diett is most slender, and they eat but ones a daye, and contynually they drynke water; they may touche no money. *Et sunt undique obruti pediculis.* Being of this order but seven weeks, it being so strayt, he was dryven to flee, and came into England, and in Christenmas he sayd sundry masses at Mr. Browne's house, my Lord Viscount's brother, before my Ladie Vaux, and certain others. And in *Crastino Epiphaniæ* he said masse in the Flete, in my Lord Vaux his

therefore, little more than a month after it, he thanks Sir Christopher, and particularly Lord Burghley, ("to whom I am most highly bounden for my delyverie by his mediation"), for obtaining his enlargement, and speaks of his "so greate losse, to so poore a man, so burthened with charge as I am, and the lamentable estate of my poor wife, wherof I am not yet in full hope of recoverie, and her losse were my utter worldly destruction."

chamber, before my Lord, Mr. Treassham, Mr. Tirwitt, and others. For the which offenses these thre were upon Weddensdaye last convicted in the Yeld Hall, at an oyer and determiner, where they sayd Osborne did give lyvelie evidence, although they before jugement did stowtelie denie the same, yet after they dyd most humblie submitt theymselves unto her Majestie, and so departed to prison agayne.

This Osborne is nephew to Sir Robert' Lane, and nere akyn to my Lord Vaux and to Mr. Tresham.

At this oyer and determiner there was arraigned one Mrs. Rogers, some tyme wife of one Barnerd Sharerd of Grey's Inne, for hearing of a masse at Shroftide, in the howse of the wife of Francis Alford, in Salisbury Court, at which masse was Mrs. Alford herself, and one Rogers a gentilman, and one Hyde, who is Mrs. Alford's man. (Hyde was reconciled by Deane.)

The seminarie priest was one Deane. This Deane and the sayd Hyde dyd give the evidence, and for that cause Mr. Secretarie's pleasure was that they should be spared. Mrs. Alford was spared, because Mr. Frauncis is bound for her, and she promiseth to go to the church, and this is by Mr. Secretarie's orders.

(My Lord, I have sent unto yout Honor a box of such stuffe as these libellers use for their printe. There be certain Irishemen that are the utterers of the last lewd booke; one Dowdale dothe use to sell them.)

At this last gaole delyverie one Margaret Harding, a notable pickpurse, was executed. The weeke before Christmas she pleaded her pardon for the lyke fault; that pardon was, as it was said, procured by Monsieur de Alpheme, but one gentilman now in the court, as she reported, had an 100 markes, whose name appeareth in the first word of the ninth line *in ista pag.** This woman hath had the benefit of sundry other pardones, as well generall as speciall. There is one

* Sir Robert Lane, see above, line 8.

Crofts, and Bacon, that were condemned for a robberie done nere Ware ; they are reprieved.

For any other things here happening, there are none worthie wryting of, save this one thing, that here are fortie brables and pickeries done abowt this towne more in any one daye than when I first came to serve was done in a moneth. The reason is of these multitude of buildings being stuffed with poore, needie, and of the worst sort of people.

Trulie, my singular good Lord, I have not leasure to eat my meat, I am so called upon. I am at the least the best parte of an hundred nights in a yere abroad in searches. I never reste. And when I serve her Majestie, then I am for the most parte the worste spoken of, and that many tymes. In the court I have no man to defend me, and as for my Lord Maior, my chief hand, I am dryven every daie to backe hym and his doings. My good Lord, for Christ's sake ! be suche a meane for me as that with creditt I maye be removed by her Majestie from this intollerable toyle. Certainlie I serve in a thankles soile. There is, as I learne, lyke to fall a roome of the Quene's Serjant ; if your Lordship please to helpe me to one of these roomes, I assure your Honor that I will do her Majesty as paynfull service as sixe of them shall do. Helpe me, my good Lord, in this my humble sute, and I will, God willing, sett downe for your Lordship suche a booke of the lawe as your Lordship will lyke of.

This Saterdaye, 2d May, 1582, Bacon House.

Your good Lordship's most bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My singular good Lord, this present Saterdaye, in the morninge, my Lord Chancellor did awhile stand at the Chanterie barr, upon the side of the hall, and anon after that, the

Justices of the Common Place were sett, his Lordship came to the Common Place, and there satt downe, and all the serjants, my bretherne, standing att the barr, my Lord Chancellor my brother Anderson called by name, and declared unto hym her Majestie's good lyking and opinion of hym, and of the place and dignitie that her Majestie had called hym unto, and then my Lord Chancellor made a shorte discourse what the dutie and office of a good justice was, and in th'end his Lordship called hym up into the myddest of the court, and then, Mr. Anderson kneeling, his commission was read, and that done, his Lordship toke the patent into his hand, and then the clarke of the corone, Powle, did read hym his oathe, and after he himselfe read the oathe of the supremacie, and so kist the booke, and then my Lord Chancellor tooke hym by the hand and placed hym upon the benche. And then father Benloos, because he was ancient, did put a short case, and then myself put the next. To the first my new Lord Chieff Justice dyd hymself only argue, but to the next that I put, both he and the residue of the benche did argue. And I assure your good Lordship, he argued very learnedlie, and with great facilitie delyvered his mynd. And this one thing I noticed in him, that he despatched more orders, and answered more difficult cases, in this one forenoone, than were despatched in one whole weeke in his predecessor's tyme.

My Lord, under benedicite, there runneth a marvelous speeche over all London, that greater sums of money were offered, to whom I knowe not, then I may well wryte of, by one of the Eschekkere, and all was for this office. If it were true, the partie did not well; if it were not trew, the first reporters were muche to blame to skandalise suche an officer of her Majestie's, by which meanes he is growen into a greater discredit then may be in a short tyme easilie forgotten.

It is almost in everie man's mouth, that after your Lordship had understanding of the offering of suche a masse of

money, that your Lordship was the meane to kepe hym from the question. Trulie my Lord, it was well done.

Thus most humbly I take my leave of your good Lordship. From Serjaunt's Inne, in Flete-strete, this Saturdaye at night. (5th May, 1582.)

Your good Lordship's most humbly bounden,

W. FLETEWODE.

My Lord, upon All Sowle Daye, when Monsieur his Grace came towards Richmond, your Lordship, in riding downe the lane betwene Richmond and the Charter-house, talked to me of the office of Garbelers to be graunted to one of Mr. Gunter's sone-in-lawes, and the Quene's Highnes had written to that effect, and by what meanes I knowe not, the learned counsell of the citie did give a resolute answer, that for so muche as it was an office of trust it might not be graunted. Sythens which tyme I have removed them from that opinion. And now there is no lett but that Sir Rowland, Mr. Martin, and one other of the Aldermen, are agaynst it. And besides Mr. Aldersey, Mr. Waterffishe, Mr. Townsend, are agaynst it. To-morrow my Lord Maior is to be presented. Your Lordship shall do well to say a word to my Lord Maior of that matter. Mr. Woodroff is earnest for Sowthwick.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, yesterdaye I sent your Lordship a letter touching the admission of my Lord Chieff Justice into the Common Place, but my man finding not your Lordship in the courte returned the letters to me agayne.

The present Sondaie my Lord Maior was presented, when her Majestie most gracioslie accepted of my Lord, and of my foolishe speeche, to the great comfort of my Lord Maior, and of all his bretheren the Aldermen.

Her Majestie was wonderfullie well pleased in all things, saving for that some yonge gentilman, being more bold than well mannered, did stand upon the carpett of the clothe of estate, and did almost leane upon the questions.¹ Her Highnes found fault with my Lord Chamberlayn and Mr. Vice-Chamberlayn, and with the Gentlemen Ushers, for suffering suche disorders.

Her Majestie found fault with me for giving more praises unto her Highnes as touching the advancement of religion, then as she said she deserved. But, my good Lord, I said nothing but trulie, and justlie, as it was indeed. My Lord Chamberlayn made my Lord Maior knight, and my Lord kyssed her Highnes' hand, and sone departed. There wanted your Lordship, and my Lord Admirall, my Lord of Leycester, my Lord of Hunsdon, Mr. Secretarie, and other great personnes.

Where in my letters in these inclosed I touched somewhat the Garbeler's office, my Lord Maior this daye telleth me that he is very well willing to helpe Mr. Sowthwicke. But now I find that Mr. Daniel Ducket, Mr. Pipe, and Mr. Martin, are the only letts. I have not spared to tell them my mynd this daye, although I have angered them, yet I see they be coming over.

Our Lord Jesus bless your Lordship, and sende your Lordship helthe. This present Sondaye, (6th Maye, 1582.)

Your good Lordship's most bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

ROGER BODENHAM TO LORD BURGHELY.

Right Honorable, my duty remembred, &c. This bearer going for England, being a man of truste, I thought good, according to my duty, to certify your Honor what I do understande of this countrie at the present.

¹ Cushions.

The King of Spaine is proclaymed King of Portugal, by the consent of the whole realme. Your Honor knows how much this joining of Portugal with Spaine dothe increase the greatnes and power of the King of Spaine, and the pride of the Spaniards, with the hope of the Catholicks; and although the Kinge of Spaine of himself be a peaceable prince and enclyned to the same, yet your Honor knows how he maye be ledde by those withall, who, indeede, will not lette to hazarde the kingdome of Spayne to mayntayne theirs. And what they cannot do by armies, they will attempt to do by money. And, as I understande, this will be now their practise, because they have spedde so well with their money in the getting of Portugall, with which they gatt all the nobilitie and all the governors to betraie their owne countrie. It is therefore to be consydered, they will do what they maye with money to winne some ayders in Englande. It maye please your Honor to have great regarde to the doings of Don Bernardyno de Mendoza, and to Saubianzy, and to Alonso Basiarto. They be there for no good, although it seeme that they have juste occasion of busines to be there. There be merchants in London that have doings with some of them, in the which, they might be better occupied, but not lightly worse.

It is reported that the King will go shortly for Lyseborne, to sette order in many matters, and to give content to the Portugalles. It will be sene shortly what will be done in these matters. The setting of order in the matters of the Indias and owt ylandes will aske a long tyme.

The King of Spaine hathe a promise of the King of Fez to delyver hym all the forts and ports that he hathe upon the sea syde, with Juans without the straights. And it is thought he will delyver them, for that the Turke doth pretende to set in another in the kingdome of Fez, so that the King of Fez thinks to assure himself by the ayd of the King of Spaine. If this come to pass, as it is pretended, and with great dilligence procured, the trade of Barbary shall

be shut up cleane from all nations, and remayne only to the Spaniards.

Here is great preparations of shipps and men to go for the straights of Magelanis, to the number of 16 or 20 sayle, and 3,000 men. They go by the waye of the ylandes, to sette order in the ylande of the Tersera,¹ which is rebelled, and will not obeye the King of Spaine, and it is thought that some of the other ylandes will do the lyke.

I nede not put your Honor in remembrance how much it imports that the King of Spaine do not peaceably possess Flanders and those countries; nor yet what a minde they have to have some entrance in Yreland, nor what practises they will seke in Skottland, and also with Fraunce. They saye openly, that with their money they hope to have some good luck, seeing by force only they cannot have their practises.

I cannot see any cause wherefore the Quene's Majestie should feare the power of or the greatnes of the King of Spaine; but most sure it is, that there is great cause wherefore the King should feare the Quene's Majestie's power. If my credit maye serve anything with your Honor, I dare saye for my parte that I can show howe to sette the King a worke out of England, in so mucche sorte as he should be fayne to leave all matters, and to put his whole force and all the frendes he can make to remedy the same, and that he should not make amend therof in his tyme, nor paraventure his childerne after him. This is no fable, but most certain and true, as I can sufficiently showe and make manifeste to your Honor, whensoever nede shall require.

They do all saye here, that God hath mightely defended that realme, consydering what practises hath bene sought by all the Catholicks of Christendome against it, and also they do saye, and not a little marvel, herin it hathe pleased God to make your Honor and the rest of the most honorable

¹ Terceira.

counsell so good instruments to serve the Queene's Majestie, to so good and quiet ende and peace for long tyme, as the lyke hathe not bene sene in no prince's tyme, having so many enemies as hathe wrought against the same. The which is and will be a perpetual fame and glory to the Quene's Majestie, and to your Honors, muche more than I can saye. The Quene's Majestie's praises in this is a thousande tymes more than was looked for, as they saye, at a woman's handes, and specyally her Majestie's constance to preserve your Honor, for her good and assured service, against the envye of a number, and also the mallice and practises of dyvers forain princes. I praye God contynue it to the ende ! For this cause I, as one of the least in abilitie, but not the least in good will, to serve your Honor, do advertise your Honor of that which I do understand in these parts of Spaine at this present, as also it is moste true, that whatsoever shall happen to that realme in your tyme, good or badde, toucheth your Honor's fame and credit more than any one man. Thus I am bold to trouble your Honor, hoping that ye will accept my good will, and pardon my boldenes. The Lord God preserve your Honor in helthe, long to contynue !

From Sainte Laucas, the 11th of June, anno 1582.

Your Honor's most humble,

ROGER BODENHAM.

This bearer's name is Edmond Ansell, merchaunt of London ; if it shall please your Honor to informe yourselfe of the state of this contrie, he can give some good reason therof.

JOHN WALKER TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.*

(A Fragment.)

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All the men in the whole fleete, (God be prayسد !) are

* The volume from which this letter is taken (MS. Cotton, Otho, E. VIII.) contains many interesting documents relating to the voyages
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in healthe, only in the Calys eight or nyne are sycke of a feaver, but all lyke to recover. I doubte not but you have heard of the great inconvenience which was lyke to have happened at Plymouthe, by reason that the generall upon sett sayle, and lefte Mr. Captayne Hawkyns and dyvers there on shore, and would not staye for them, but by the persuation of Captayn Warde and some one or two others, he caste about, after we had sayled fyve leagues, and met them at the Lande's Ende in the Francys, whiche matter was lyke to have bredde a greate myschiefe, but that we appeased it in the beginning. But now (God be prayesd!) there is among us as great concorde and friendly amty as maye be among any people, and all things go well with us, and no doubt but God will bless us, for our people are wonderfully reformed, both in rule of lyfe and relygion towardes God. In the Edwarde we have dayly morning and evening prayers, besides other specyall prayers at other times of the daye. Every Sunday I preache, and after dynner we have conference in the Scryptures, wherewith the maryners, who never heard sermons in their lives, are marvelously delighted. Captayne Warde governeth his charge with great wysdome and pollycy, who doubtlesse is so sufficiente a man every waye, that he is well worthy to governe any great charge. I wold to God your Lordship knewe hym as he deserveth. I beseeche your Lordship to contynue your honorable goodnesse towards me, which shall be a suffycient recompense of my voyage. The Lord God preserve your Lordship in most happy estate, with the dayly increase of honor.

The 14th June, 1582, in the latytude of 35 degrees.

Your honourable Lordship's humble servant

and chaplayne,

JOHN WALKER.

of foreign adventure, but unfortunately it has been so much damaged with the fire, that few of them are sufficiently complete to be decyphered.

EDWARD PRINNE TO LORD BURGHLEY.*

Right Honorable, my humble dutie considered, the cause of this my writing unto your Honor, is the dutie wherin I am bound unto her most excellent Majestie, the which, notwithstanding I am alien borne, yet my father was an Englishman, and myself in hart, love, and fydelitie, will give no man place of my calling, for which cause, my very good Lord, I have inbowldened myselfe, craving pardon for these my attempts.

The King, my master, lays in London in the greatest miserie that ever any man lay, desolate not only of necessaries but of comfort, for he, feeling extreme sycke at Uxbridge, where he lay, sent hither to have the healpe of one of her Majestie's physicians. I know not how the matter fell owt, but her Highness was not made acquainted with the matter, so that there came no man to him, the which was no small grieve to him, to see that fortune had brought him to that miserable state, and to me, my verie good Lord, in respect of my dutie to this my contrie, greater grieve to see that if the Frenche embassador had not continued every daye once our todjs (?), that the poore prince had remained altogether without any comfort.

About three moneths past, my very good Lord, if I do remember myself well, I heard that her Majestie had given orders that two chambers should be furnished for the Kinge, the which helpe too I never see, the fault remaining where it is, but it had been otherwise if I could have helped it, to the end strangers might not see his myserable lodging, the which would pitie your Honour's hart if you indeed had sene him here betwene four bare walls, voyd of all good comfort,

* The King of France, not himself inclined to give the aid which King Antonio sought for the recovery of his lost kingdom of Portugal, sent him over to England, where he remained for some time in poverty and distress.

and accompanied only by us poore servants, that cannot helpe him in any other then to mourne with him his unhappie state. What comfort and honour were it to see in this his extremitie some one gentleman come from the Quene's Majestie and others of their free will, (in respect of honour,) and this wold not only put him in great comfort, but all of us in greater hope that God had not altogether given us over! Notwithstanding, we cannot altogether despaire, considering her Majesty dothe protecte the King in his safetie, we do comfort ourselves and do have in great hope that by her Majestie's good meanes, the poore kingdome of Portugal shall have relief. I beseeche your honour to take compassion, and that the great charge that her Majestie hath bene at, may not now for a small matter be put in hazard. And in truthe, my verie good Lord, I do greatly fear of one hard chance over other. I have done my best hitherto, and will do till deathe, as I am bound. Thus I leave, praying the Almighty God longe to continue your Honor, to the comfort of this her Majestie's realme. (1582).

Your Honor's servant in all dutie till deathe,

EDWARD PRINNE.

SIR JOHN NORRIS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Most gracious Soveraigne, it may please your most excellent Majesty to understande, that on Saterdaye night last past, being the sixte of this presente, the burgers of this towne of Andwerpe, being in some jelousie of the Frenche, who were lodged in the towne in greate numbers, increased their watche to the double number they were ordinarily accustomed, causing every householde to hange out lightes into the streetes, and withall in the evening gave warning at the court to such gentilmen as were lodged in the towne, to repayre to their lodgings by nyne of the clocke. The Duke tooke not this dealing in good parte, but seemed much discontented that any jelousie should be conceaved of those of

his trayne, and the next mornynge about nyne of the clock, repaying to the castell, had conference with the Prynce touching that matter, which was executed in as good sorte as might be, and the occasion therof imputed to some light dealings and indiscrete speeches lately let fall by some of the Frenche. And that all might be appeased, proclamation was presentlie made that all those of the Frenche which belonged to the armye should forthwith repaire to the troupes at Burgerhault, whither the Duke determined to go after dynner, to take a view of the whole forces, betwene one and two of the clocke, accompanied with the most of the gentilmen of his court.

His Highnes passing through the gate that leadeth to Burgerhault, suddaynly those of his trayne which came after began to seize the gate, and fell to some blowes with the burgers which that daye garded the port, having caused eight ensignes of the Frenche to be in a readines, and to come forward, who also entered the gate, and had advanced themselves within the towne, as farre as St. Jacques' Church, and near to the greate Bursse. The alarme being given throughout the towne, the burgers immediately tooke armes, and so well acquitted themselves, that in somewhat lesse then three quarters of an hour the gate was recovered, and the Frenche forced to retire with the loss of eight or nyne hundred at the least, besides Messiers De Fervaques, Shamount, De Fargie, L'Avernie, Beaupré, La Ferté, La Roiselière, and some others whose names I have not learned, which being dismounted from their horses, were brought into the towne by the burgers, and remayne under garde in severall houses. The Marshall Biron was the night before gone oute of the towne to set all thinges in order against the Duke's coming to Burgerhault. The Duke of Mountpensier accompayned his Highnes, and so did the Count de la Vall. The Count de la Marshe, not thinking of any suche matter, was playing at tennys, and from thence conducted by the burgers safelie to his lodging. In this tumulte had the bene sayne men of name, the Count Chasteauxneux' sonne, the

Count St. Aignon and his sonne, Monsieur de Tyan, governor of Alost, a sonne of the Marshall Byron's, Secevalle, Biragues, and many others of good accompte.

The Duke went straight to Berckhame to a castell one myle from Andwerpe, where he yet remayneth, from whence this daye he sent letters to the Prince, excusing the attempte of the soldyours, being driven therunto, as he saith, by the greate myserie and extremytie they had long indured, offering to imploy hymselfe and suche meanes he had to the benefit and defence of their countrie, if they should thynke good to accepte therof. The messenger being a maister d'hostell to his Highnes, with a collonell of the towne, are returned back agayne with answer, the effecte wherof I cannot yet understande.

Aboute the same tyme of this attempte in Andwerpe, the Frenche possessed themselves of Dermound, Dixmuyde, Dunkirke, and Viluorden; and attempting to do the like at Bruges, it is said the burgers of the towne have cutte all the Frenche in pieces. Letters were immediately sent from the Prince and the States here to others their townes of garrison, advising them to stande upon their sure garde, for the better preventing of any Frenche practise against them.

There was slayne of the burgers in this tumulte betwene fortie and fyftie persons, and some fewe hurte; and of the Frenche better then a thousand, as it is judged, besides three or four sore hurte which have bene found alyve under the dead bodyes when they were carried to their buriall.

This being as much as I can presently advertise your Majesty touching the late accident, it may please you to give me leave to ende, with my most humble and hartie prayers to Almightye God to defende and keepe your most excellent Majestie against the practises of your enemyes, to blesse your estate, and to graunte you a long and prosperous raigne amongst us.

From Andwerpe, the 9th of January, 1582.

Your Majestie's most dutifull subjecte,

J. NORRICE.

THE MAYOR OF LONDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My duty humbly done to your Lordship, I have, according to your Lordship's direction by your letters, reformed the catalog of victuallers' howses infected within the liberties of this citie, from the 8th daye of November laste, being within the two monethes appointed by your former letters, which I have done as your Lordship willed, with advise of Mr. Norton, who informeth me that he hathe herein had speciall regard to two thinges, the one to give suche plaine description and note of the stretes and places as maye serve for easy notice to suche as repaire to this citie, the other that it be in suche shortenes as maye be brought into lesse than one face of a shete of paper to be fixed in places convenyent.

It may please your Lordship also to consyder of the places which I have thought good to signifie after my opinion in the note enclosed, having respectes to Westminster and the way thither, and the entrance allwaies into this citie.

Further, I thought good to move your good Lordship to the same intent, that in terme tyme usually in manner all the howses in Flete-strete and the stretes and lanes adjoining, as also without Temple-barre, do use lodgings, victualling, or letting out of chambers, whether it be not your pleasure that all suche howses in those partes, as do so lodge and lett out chambers, though they be not otherwaies usuallie victuallers, be likewise noted, if they have bene infected within the space of these two monethes. I do humblye thanke your Lordship for your honorable and loving care of this citie in the saide matter of infection, and the repaire of the Quene's subjects hither, and for my owne parte will not faile in diligence by your direction according to my duty.

It maye please your Lordship to be further advertised, which I think you have alreadie heard of, a great mishappe at Paris-garden, where by ruin of all the scaffolds at once, yesterdaye a greate number of people are some presentlie

slayne, and some maymed and grievouslie hurte. It giveth great occasion to acknowledge the hande of God for suche abuse of the sabbath daie, and moveth me in conscience to beseeche your Lordship to give order for redresse of suche contempt of God's service. I had to that ende treated with some justices of peace of that countie, who signifie themselves to have very good zeale, but alledge want of commission, which we humblie referre to the consideration of your honorable wisdoms. And so I leave to trouble your Lordship.

At London, the 14th of Januarye, 1582.

Your Lordship's humble,

THOMAS BLANKE, Maior.*

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELY.

My very good Lord, according to the advise that your Honor gave me by your Lordship's last letters, I caused Mr. Seckford, of the Court of Wards, Mr. Harris, Mr. Smithe, and Mr. Yonge, and myself attending upon them, to repaire the disorders that your Lordship returned unto me agayne. They did it most exactlie, and swore witnesses upon the same. The which book I have now returned agayne, corrected and reformed.

Uppon Thursdaye I being at the sessions at Fynsburie, I found the cheffests of the two liberties there exclaiming upon these youtnes; the justices would nedes have them indicted; they are indicted for common disturbers of the peace, for night walkers, for breakers of glasse wyndowes, lanterns, and suche like, and principallie for the great riott that they committed the second of this month of Jan. Light is specially indicted for singing in the churche upon Childer-

* " Sir Thomas Blanke, haberdasher, sonne to Thomas Blanke, citizen and haberdasher of London, who was sonne to Thomas Blanke, of Gilford, in Surrey."—*Stowe*.

mas Day, "fallantida dillie," &c. My Lord Bishop was at the arraignment of Light. Light confessed all that he was charged with. The residue are not yet arraigned, albeit they be indicted. My Lord of Leicester hath been sued unto by the principalls of New Inne and Lion's Inne, for the setting at libertie these yonge gentilmen. I do beseeche your Lordship be good unto them, for my good Lord of Leicester's sake. But looking through into their demeanors, I think the inhabitants well crie owt, if Knyveton and Light be not bound to their good behaviour. If the other be sett at libertie, I do perceyve they intend to lead a new lyfe. The benche at the gaole delyverie of Newgate dyd take order that Light, who was convicted, should be bound to his good behaviour. I do not see how he can well be discharged from that bond.

I do suppose that Light and Kniveton are descended of the blood of Nero the tiraunt. I never knew of two suche tyrannical youtthes, the elder not being twenty yeres old. I beseche God to make them his servants. My Lord Chancellor by Mr. Harris, the justice, sent word unto us that we should procede at that sessions agaynst them for the satisfying of the people. If the principals were looked unto, and specially of New Inne, all wold be well. I do beseeche your good Lordship to be good unto the residue of them, for surelie they are most penitent for their misbehaviours. But for Light' and Kniveton, I see no grace in them.

Thus humbly I take my leave of your good Lordship, this Satterdaye at night, (Jan 19,) 1582.

Your good Lordship's most bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

A DYARIE.

Upon Saterdaye last, I was occupied all the daye in the examination of one Levenson, and of his confederates, and of sundrie roberies, and suche lyke. This Levenson is a dan-

gerous ruffen. He hath misused my Lord of Oxenford with words of indignitie.

Upon Sondaie, after diner, we of the citie studied what Mr. Comptroller would allege agaynst the citie for the office of Garleeting. Upon the same daye the violaters of the Sabbath were punished, by God's providence, at Paris Garden; and as I was writing of these last words, lo, here is a booke sett downe upon the same matters.

Upon Monday, Mr. Smithe, Mr. Owen, and myself, occupied all the daye with Mr. Deane, in Westminster, for the punishment of bawdes and strumpetts, of whom some were towted,* but all banished.

Upon Tuesdaye, all that daye was spent at Lambeth, in the old Duke of Norffolk's hall. Mr. Comtroller satt there at the table's end; upon the benche satt first in Mr Aubrie, Mr. Lewes, Master of the Rolls, Sir Rowland, and Sir Nicholas Woodruf. The jurie were old courtiers and Walshe-men; the verdict is not yet given. How we shall speed, I know not, but I am sure Mr. Comtroller hymself was and seemed most indifferent. We feare not the case, so long as your Lordship is our supreme judge. I wold to God we were at quiet with these great counsellors!

Upon Weddensdaye, we were occupied abowt the dealings of those unthrifs of the Chancerie. At after diner, my brother Flowredewe's man brought me evill newes, but at his returne he tolde me how muche he was bound to your Lordship in the behalf of his master. Surelie, my Lord, if Mr. Hermingham had bene at a sessions or gaole delyverie at London, he shold have tarried by it untill the Quene or the Lords of the counsel had otherwise determyned.

Upon Thursdaye, I kept two sessions of peace, the one at Fynsburie, the other at the Yeld hall. At after diner, I was occupied in the high commission, about the foresayd Levenson, and the knight marshall's man, who tooke his parte.

* Whipped? *Towt*, in old English, signifies neither more nor less than the backside.

That done, I was sent for to my Lord of Leicester, abowt the gentilmen of the Chauncerie.

Upon Friday, from eight in the morning until eight at the night, the gaole deliverie was, when Mr. Tresham and his fellows were convicte for recusants. My Lord Vaux was not brought forth, because he was a Baron. There were three condempned and put to execution this daye, in the morninge.

Upon this Satterdaye, by commission from Mr. Secretarie, Mr. Attorney, Solicitor Norton, and myself, sat in the Temple Hall, abowt the Isle of Gerke, and for the execution of justice there. The strife is betweene Sir Thomas Layton and a gentilman of Gersey.

At after dinner, my cosen Holcroft brought me a table from your Lordship for Westminster and the Duchie to be printed. I have bene about the setting of the forme thereof untill the writing of these letters.

And thus your Lordship may see that I am so exercised that I have no leasure at all skarse to read a Littleton's case, muche lesse to studie my demurrers, that I must argue. My two Lord Chief Justices are come to London. Mr. Levettant and the officers are occupied at this tyme in surveying the ordinances in the Tower.

In the Middell Temple garden, hard under my Lord of Leicester's wall, two of the gardener's boyes fell syck of the plague; one was buried yesterdaye, the other by my meanes is removed to Glomesburie.

About a sevennight past, yong Mr. Cecill,* your Lordship's son, about seven of the clocke, passed by Saint Clement's Church, I standing there to see the lanterns hangen, and to see if I cold mete with any outrageous dealers. There stood sixe of the honest inhabitants with me—"Lo!" quod they, "ye may see how a nobleman's son can use himself, and howe he putteth off his capp to poore men. Our Lord blesse him!" quod they. I write this for two purposes: the

* Probably Sir Robert Cecil.

one is that your Lordship hath cause to thank God for so virtuous a child ; the other is, that through your Lordship's good meanes, the principalls may be compelled to look better to their charges.

My Lord Chancellor, my Lord Chief Justice of England, my Lord Chief Baron, Sir George Bromley, myself, and many other of good calling at this daye, were of Clifford's Inn, where Mr. Haachett, of Hertfordshire, was principall. He kept us all in so good order, that none durst presume to play any wicked or lewd parts.

I end, fearing to trouble your honor with these trifeling newgations.

W. F.

W. DAVISON TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.*

It may please your honor, I have by every post of late looked for my revocation, fynding no greate cause of my particular staye here, to the increase of her Majestie's charge,

* The years 1582 and 1583 were a turbulent period in Scotland. The French were intriguing deeply to revive there their former influence, and the party in whose power the King lay were by this means estranged from the interest of England. The English government naturally used their utmost exertions to counteract the French intrigues, and the zeal of the protestant and English party in Scotland was brought into action. Ruthven, Earl of Gowry, with other nobles of this party, alluring the King to Ruthven Castle, made themselves master of his person, and excluded the opposite party from the government. This was afterwards known as the Raid of Ruthven. Lennox took shelter in France. The French King sent into Scotland La Motte Fenelon and Manningville to stir up a counter-revolution.

The papers in the British Museum, relating to Scotch affairs at this period, leave no doubt that there was at this time a dangerous plot in agitation by the French and the Catholics, that Mary Queen of Scots was deeply engaged in it, and that it was as full of peril to England as to Scotland.

and some incommoditie to myself. But because your honor hath yet rather given me hope than assurance thereof, I must beseech you that in your next I may fully understand her Majestie's good pleasure in that behalf.

Mr. Bowes his experience and acquaintance with the affayres of this state enable him sufficientlie alone to go through with any service, that is to be done here without any great want of language; for any negotiations between us and Manningville, whose staie we hope will not be long here, if thinges frame not all the sooner to his full contentment, which will appeare shortelie after the coming of the rest of the Lords, looked for this week. In the meane tyme the people here have much to do to contayne themselves from hastening his departure by some rude intreatie, which they have been willing to offer him ere this, and had surelie done it, had not the maisters and some discreete burgesses hitherto staid them: so greate is the prejudice they have of his traffique here, to the hurte of religion, and disquyet of their state: and now forbear only in expectation of his dispatche uppon the coming of these Lords, according to the promise made unto them by such as were intercessours to the Kynge for them in that behalf. And yet it seemeth that hymself is determined to ride it oute here, if he may, till he heare further out of France.

By our common letter your honour shall understand all these thinges more particularlie, as also of our apprehension of one William Holte, a Jesuit, entertained secretly here by the Lord Seton, and appoynted to a voiage into France, and from thence to Rome, whom, being ready to take a passage with the first fayre wynde, we caused to be apprehended at Leithe. About him we found divers ciphers, and some two or three letters, whereof (the originalls being delivered to the Kynge) we sende you herewith the coppies. Divers other letters he had, and should have receaved here, but where he hath bestowed them we cannot yet learne.

By these we send your Honour, you may pick out English

enough, touching the doings and employments of hymselfe and others of that crewe, but in his examination we cannot yet drawe hym to any further particularities. In generall, onlie he confesseth to Mr. Bowes and myself, that he thinketh there is some purpose in hand by the Pope, and divers Princes Catholicks, for a warre againste Englande, and that they have a partie strong at home ; that the pretext will be religion and libertie of the Quene of Scotts ; that they hold the enterprise easie, considering their own preparations and the factions at home ; that the Pope hath gathered a greate masse of money, and collecteth daily, as he heareth, to the same use ; that the King of Spayne, as appeareth by the letter decyphered, is also to furnish a part. But of the time, the instrument to be used, and other particularities, he can saye nothing, as he pretendeth.

This daie my Lord of Dunfermlinge and others (who have been with us to the same ende once or twice alreadye) are appointed to be with us agayne, with some speciall articles of his more formall and precise examination of the proceeding, wherein your honor shall heare more by the next. Manningville doth storme at his apprehension and detayning with us, and hath been earnest with the King to remove him out of our handes ; both he, Seaton, and the rest of that party, fearing leste their doinges by this meanes may come to light. Alexander Seaton, priour of Pluskett, and third sonne to the Lorde, author of one of these letters, is sent for, and to be examined thereuppon before his Majestie and the counsell, who is able to discover more than I think they shall easily gett from him.

With this Holte we tooke two others, the one a Scottish man, his servant, whom we have delyvred over to Collonel Stuarde, the other an Englishman lately come hither, who, after his first apprehension, was used as a stale to intrappe the other, wherein he served us to great purpose. His name is Roger Almond, one that was taken about two years past at Dover, and examined before your honor at the court,

and afterwards sent downe to my Lord of Huntington to Yorke, and hathe (as he saith) been an instrument to decipher and discover dyvers of that partie. Howsoever it be, his doings in this deserveth favor. Thus referring your Honor's more particular satisfaction to our generall letters, and that you shall els receive from Mr. Bowes, I do most humbly take my leave.

At Edinbrough, the 4th of Marche, 1582.

Your Honor's most humble at commandement,

W. DAIVSON.

W. PARRY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

The late enterprise in Flaunders, (reported here to the greate dishonor of the French,*) hath filled these partes full of expectation what the Quene's Majestie will do. And as her government hath hitherto been thought to exceed all the princes of her tyme, so it is looked that her Majestie do now serve herselfe of all good occasions presented for her quietnes and better assurance.

The French King and his mother do find themselves grieved for some liberall speches used of them in this towne; but, truely, this commonwelth hath the honor of princes in greate regard, and cannot abyde to have them touched by worde or writing.

It hath bene told me in greate secrete (thought I may not avow it,) that the Quene Mother lyeth in the wynde, and

* The Duke of Anjou, in 1582, after his departure from England, went to the Low Countries, where he took upon him the command. But after spending of much money with very little success, he left the country without having gained any honour proportionate to the just expectations which had been formed. The disgrace and disappointment which he reaped from this enterprise shortened the days of the Duke of Anjou, who died in 1584. The *enterprise* alluded to, is probably that related by Norris, in his letter to the Queen, p. 180.

watcheth to give our Quene a mate, and will undoubtedly do it, if her Majestie do not look well to her game.

We heare of greate and dayly preparation for the sea in Naples, Spayne, and Portugal, but not that Don Antonio's fortune can serve hym to offende the King Catholicke.

It is judged a very slender pollicy that we, having no embassador in Spayne, do still entertayne the Spanish embassador in England, where I feare me there is too much to be done by money.

Many are of opinion that it is a matter of less difficulty for us to confirm the auncient league with Burgundy, then to contynue our intelligence with France, with whom for five hundred yeres I do not finde that we have had any long peace. And out of doubt I am, that we have very mighty enemyes in France to our quietnes.

Our trafficque into the Levant cannot but be dangerous and full of adventure for our merchants, so long as we stand upon doubtfull termes with France.

The Prince of Orange is thought now to lyve in more daunger than ever, and that he shall not long escape, if practise may prevaile.

The new booke printed at Rome, dedicated to the Cardinall S. Sixti, and intituled *De Persecutione Anglicana*, hath raised a barbarous opinion of our cruelty. I could wish that in those cases it might please her Majestie to pardon the dismembring and quartering.*

Sir Richard Shelley is very desirous to returne, and promiseth very greate services, if he be not disquieted for his conscience.

From Venyce, the fourth of March, 1582.

* The bold intrigues and atrocious designs of the Jesuits, had provoked the English government to increase the severity of the laws against the Catholics, or rather to execute them more severely. The dismembering and quartering was part of the common punishment of traitors.

SIR J. NORRYS TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Right honorable my verie good Lorde, since the departing of Mr. Grivel, the Prince of Orange this night hath bled more then a pounce of blud,* which verie much amaseth all his phisitions, and giveth cause of sorrowe to his frends, and generally doute to al men of his recoverie. This morning the phisitions, by an anatomie, have found which should be the veine that bledeth, which putteth them in small comfort that it is not impossible to be stayed. My brother stayeth a day or two to bring more certain advertisement thereof. The Frenchmen fayled of their enterprise for the surprising Namure, as it is thought, for faint of those which undertooke it. The enemy in Gelderland marcheth strongly towards us, with four regiments of infanterie and six of horse. The Prince of Parma hath battered Lentz, and draweth his troops thither, resolute to recover it, but they give out brave words that they will keepe it. At my brother his returne, I will impart any other news that shall occur.

Thus most humbly I commend and commit myself to your Honor's good favor. From Antwerp, this 6th of Marche, 1582.

Your Honor's most assuredly to commaunde,

J. NORREYS.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

Sir, as I think myself infinitely bounde unto you for your honorable and friendly defence of the intended matche between my daughter and Mr. Sidney,† so do I finde it strange that her Majestie should be offended withall. It is either to proceed of the matter or of the manner. For the matter, I

* The Prince was shot by an assassin employed by the Spanish party.

† Sir Philip Sydney married the daughter of Sir Francis Walshingham.

hope when her Majestie shall weigh the due circumstances of place, persone, and qualitie, there can growe no just cause of offence; if the manner be misliked, for that her Majestie is not made acquainted withall, I am no person of that state, but that it may be thought a presumption for me to trouble her Majestie with a private marriage between a free gentleman of equall calling with my daughter. I had well hoped that my paynfull and faithfull service done unto her Majestie had merited that grace and favour at her handes, as that she would have countenanced this match with her gracious and princely good liking thereof, that thereby the world might have been a witness of her goodness towards me. As I thought it alwayes unfitt for me to acquainte her Majestie with a matter of so base a subject as this poore matche, so did I never seeke to have the matter concealed from her Majestie, seeing no reason why there should growe any offence thereby. I pray you, Sir, therefore, if she enter into any further speech of the matter, lett her understand that you learne generally that the matche is held for concluded, and withall to lett her knowe howe juste cause I shall have to fynde myself agrieved if her Majestie still shewe her mislike thereof. And so, commytting the cause to your friendly and considerate handling, I leave you to the protection of the Almightye.

At Barn-Ealms, the 19th of Marche, 1582.

Your's most assuredly to commande,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Postscript.—I will give order that my cousin Sydney shall be forewarned of the matter, who, as I suppose, wyll not be at the courte before the next weeke. If her Majestie's mislike shoulde contynue, then would I be glad if I myght take knowledg thereof, to expresse my grief unto her by letter, for that I am forced in respect of the indisposition of my body to be absent untill the ende of this next weeke, whereof I made her Majestie pryvie.

ROBERT BOWES TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

Sir, by some favour and other meanes, I have seen some letters for the Master of Livingston, Henry Keir, and . . . capten of the Scottish guard in France, and others; they all agree and certify that Lennox shall returne this somer into Scotland, and some of them writt it shall be sooner than some of his enemies looke for. It appeareth that he is persuaded and purposed to returne, notwithstanding that the King of Scottes shall not assent thereunto; for he presumeth uppon the former promise made by the King before his departure, assuring him that he would come agayne within half-a-yeare with his favour, and by the assistance of the Lordes that he shall easilie satisfy the King and resume his former place. It is thought sufficientlie for him to bring money without forces, and it is looked that he shall bring or send before him sixty thousand pounds, to be levied at such hands as for his service will furnishe the same, with large offers to the King and to the Lordes, in the names of the King of France, Quene Mother, Quene of Scottes, and Duke of Guise.

It appeareth that he purposeth to come in at Dumbritton, which I feare is still kept by suche as will readilie receive him, notwithstanding his oath given to the King. This matter touching the change of the captaine of that place, is onely to be remedied by her Majestie at the coming of Collo-nell Steward to the court, to their commoditie and tyme, wherof I referre the same. Many partes of the occurrences recited, are confirmed by other intelligences given me.

Moreover, by other secret intelligence about Manningvil, I am assured that albeit Lennox hath assured the French King, the most ancient of the nobilitie and of greatest power and credit with the King and Lordes are bonded with him, and will both staie with him, and also run the course of the French King and the Quene of Scottes, wherin he offreth to gett good testimonies from the Lordes themselves, and for the same hath written to the Lordes, yet the King and Quene neither will not give full credite thereunto untill they shal be

advertised by Manningvil of the truth and certaintie in the same, in which behalf Manningvil hath especiall comission to sounde and feele the nobles' mindes of all such as Lennox hath presented and named to be his friends in Scotland, and also to receave at their handes such assurances as may suffice the French King and Quene of Scottes, to send and returne Lennox with forces and money, with all requisites for their aide and advancement of the cause taken in hand. Here-uppon Manningvil sayth that the reputation and welfare of Lennox lieth in his handes: he hath an evil opinion of Lennox' conducting his behaviour and course in Scotland in time past, and esteeming him to be a stranger in France, by reason that his livinges are in Scotland, nevertheles, he concludeth that Lennox must needes be employed, and therefore he will cover his faultes and sett forward his preferment, and at this convention he looketh verilie to receave th'assurances of the Lordes, and therewith to returne to France with speed.

Uppon this bruite that Lennox was in England, he is afraid to passe that way, saying that by his death, being wholie and alone informed in their causes, this cause shall perishe with him. And yet, in the end, he determineth to adventure on the honour and suretie of the passporte.

Advertisement is come to Manningvil that Lennox is in the way to compound and agree with Arbroath, but I cannot think that to be true, for sundrie of the friendes of Arbroath do affirme to me that their Lord will not be reconciled to Lennox, unles her Majestie shall abandon him or give over his cause. In this parte, I have had some late conference with Robert Cunningham, who is of my opinion, who will departe from hence towardses you about five or six dayes hence.

Upon Sonday, letters and complaints received severally from the Lord Scrope and Sir John Forster, calling for meetings with the Wardens of this realme, and for redress and justice on the borders. I have often tymes moved the King and counsell, who theron have at length both by their letters

given commaundment to all the Wardens of the marches in this realme to kepe metings, and to do justice to the opposite Wardens in England, accordingly to the late order accorded by her Majestie, with Mr. J. Colvill; and also written for the Lard of Asford, Warden of the Middle Marche and Keper of Liddesdale, to th'intent at Cesfurd's coming hither order may be taken as well for the answering and redresse of all th'offences done in England by Liddesdale, against whom our Wardens before named do chiefly complayne, as also for the disposition of th'office and charge of Liddesdale, which office the King purposeth to comitt to th'Earle of Bothwell, who is loath to accept the same without greater entertaynment then the King is hitherto pleased to bestowe therwith. Besides, the Lard of Cesfurd with great labor hath found out and gotten into his handes Miles Kelsinge, before taken forth of his howse in Cumberland, and detained prisoner long time in secret places by the Liddesdale men. Gelsinge shal be speedily delivered to satisfie the Lord Scrope's demaund in that parte. The King promiseth to provide that from henceforth her Majestie's wardens shall finde justice to be done to them with speed, and to their good contentment.

Manningvil seking to linger his departure, suffreth all his letters and his despach prepared and ready for him to remayne still in the clerk's hands, and is gone to Seaton to recreate himselfe there, this three or four dayes yet to come. He purposeth to see th'end of this convention, which although it be appointed to begin this day, yet fewe or no noblemen are come, and the assembly will not sit in counsell before Monday next.

Some do looke that Manningvil his abode and this convention shall produce weighty effects, and for th'advantage of Lennox and of the French, but others trust that it shall blowe over without any greate matters, other then graunte of a taxe to the king, for the satisfying of Gowry, to appoint a parlement, and such like needfull occasions for

the common state, except that uppon tryall of matters betwixt Arrane and Gowry some trouble shall arise.

Th'other day Manningvil receaved letters out of France by the hands of George Vanghope, that returned from France with many other merchaunts. He will not be knowne to have gotten any letters at all, and sithence the same he appeareth to be resolved to returne home through England sone after th'end of this convention, for which tyme he will, he sayth, finish all his affayres.

Kilsith prepareth himself to passe agayne through England into France. It is thought that he shall carry some resolutions and errands to Lennox to hasten his returne into Scotland. Our late conference together hath so little pleased him, as he hath not visited me so often as he promised, nor so ordinarily as he did Manningvil, to whom he hath done all the good offices he could, and so liberally as some minister checking him presently for the same, he complayned thereof to the King without cause or great advantage.

John Chelsham, an especiall instrument for Manningvil, reported that in his late speech with the King, the King told him that he would move the Lords at this convention for the revocation of Lennox, which coming to the knowledge of Collonell Steward, he informed the King, that in great passion denyed that he either spake or ever intended any suche thing. Whereuppon the King hath given order to Collonell Steward to see Chelsham chastised according to his fault.

By letters from Gowry to the Justice Clerk, I have seene Gowrie's affirmation that he sent his servant to Arrane not to call him to the meting with the other Lords named in my former, but to restrayne his coming thither, and Gowry is readie to prove the same. But Arrane will stand to his former information, adding, that Gowry had no intention to surprise the King or alter his state, but by common advise at this convention to persuade the King both to trust his nobi-

lity and subjects, and thereon to discharge his guard, that was chardgable, and ministered cause of suspicion betwixt the King and noblemen, and for a tyme to forbear to use the advise and counsell of the Prior of Blantyre, to satisfie the desire of sondry noblemen that misliked as much the late doings of Blantyre as they did before of Lennox. But Gowry, at his returne to courte, which will be this day or to-morrowe, will seke to cleare himself against this reporte, and theron the matter is like to fall in contention betwixt Arrane and him, and some effects to fall out of the same, which upon the issue and tryal shall be shortly advertised to you.

Upon information given to the burgesses of Edinburgh, that Stephen Haynes, Englishman, with his complices, had lately spoyled two Scottish skippers returning from London with books, paper, and other wares, and lying in the roads of Lasto, the said provost, burgesses, sundry barons, gentlemen, ministers and many others, in great number and assembly, complained first to the King, and next to myself, with earnest request for speedy redresse, affirming that their hurts daily growing by English pirates, were nowe grievous and greater then ever hath been sene in tyme of open warres, albeit the well-affected do well allowe and accept my answer and declaration made, and signifying the greate care and chardge that her Majestie hath taken to preserve this nation from the piracies of any of her Majestie's subjects, and the impossibility by any punishment or means to prevent and suppress spoyles of pirates in this present condition of tyme and state of all nations in Europe, with her Majestie's extraordinary favour to punishe severely all such like offenders against this nation, and to make speedy redresse and justice, yet th'others inclining to the French do both murmur exceedingly, and also blowe the coale to stirre all men in this realme to an universall mislike and offence with England. A matter that I shall trust exceede their power, and yet I wishe that by seasonable remedy the inconvenyence may be prevented, to the satisfying of the King and all good men in

this realme, whom I see deeply grieved and wounded with the often piracies done by the Englishmen against this people, who, they say, do seldome or never offend any Englishmen in any like manner. For your better instructions in this cause, I send you th'information presented to me, together with the notes of the wares and the value thereof, that are taken by the pirates ; all which I leave to your good advice, with humble request that for her Majestie's service this cause may finde favourable consideration.

Edinburgh, April 12, 1583.

SIR FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, her Majestie hathe wylled me to signifie unto your Lordship, that as she hathe bene pleased for a tyme to permit you to wrestle with nature, not doubting but that wysdom and religion hathe wrought in you ere this that resolution that appertayneth to a man of your place and calling, so nowe she thinketh that if the healthe of your body may so permyt, you should do better to occupy yourself in dealing in publick causes, than by secluding yourselfe from access, to give yourselfe over a prey unto grieve.

And if you might conveniently repayre hither, she would be glad to have your Lordship's advice in a matter of weight concerning certayne offers lately made unto her by the Scottish Quene, sent hither from the Earl of Shrewsberry, wherof I sende your Lordship a coppie, to the ende you may be the better prepared to give your adyce.

The proclamation for reprieves is signed and sent to the prynting. And so, commytting your Lordship to the comforte of the Almyghtye, I most humbly take my leave. At the Courte, the 20th of Aprell, 1583.

Your Lordship's to commande,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Sir Spirit,* I doubt I do nickname you, for those of your kinde (they say) have no sense, but I have of late seen an *ecce signum*, that if an ass kicke you, you feelee it too soone. I will recant you from being my spirit, if ever I perceiue that you disdaine not such a feeling. Serve God, feare the Kinge, and be a good fellow to the rest. Let never care appeare in you for such a rumor, but let them well know, that you rather desire the righting of such wrongs, by making knowne their error, then you to be so silly a soule, as to foreslowe that you ought to do, or not freely delyver what you thinke meetest, and pass of no man so much, as not to regard her trust, who puts it in you.

God bless you, and long may you last,

Omnino, E. R.

(Received 8th May, 1583.)

W. PARRY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Right Honourable, my great liking to live in the state of Venyce was over-ruled by the necessity of my departure. Though I have not, perhaps, fully satisfied th'expectation had of me, yet have I done my best to serve the Quene's Majestie. If I be not deceived, I have shaken the foundation of the English semynary in Rheyms, and utterly overthrown the credit of the English pensioners in Rome. My instruments were such as passe for greate, honourable, and grave. The course was extraordinary and strange, reasonably well devised, soundly followed, and substantially executed, without the assistance of any one of the English nation. Your honourable favour, and Mr. Secretary's, hath overthrown my

* Queen Elizabeth was accustomed to call her able and faithful counsellor, Lord Burghley, *her Spirit*.

credit with our countrymen on this side ; and yet, if I were well warranted and allowed, I would either prevent and discover all Romaine and Spanish practises against our state, or lose my lyfe in testimony of my loyalty to the Quene's Majesty, and duty to my honourable friendes that have protected me. If it please your Lordship to conferre with Mr. Secretary touching my letters herewith sent, to advise and direct me, I am ready to do all I shall be able and am commaunded.

Whatsoever I have already spent, I do thinke well bestowed. But it is neither my poore state, nor my trifling allowance, that will serve to do that is to be done, the meanest man that is to be followed and courted being a secretary.

I have taken my leave of ordynary occurrents long ago, as little worth and lesse avayling our State. I am promised very good information from Venyce ; if it be performed, your good Lordship shall be well served.

I came by Bada, where the diet is holden. The ambassadors of France, Savoy, the Cantons, and confederates were assembled. The ambassadors of Surich, Bern, and Geneva tould me they had small hope of any accorde. They mean to urge the matter to some sounde resolution. I finde the French King greatly mistrusted. Geneva is in greate hope to be relieved out of England. I spake with Mr. Beza. I thinke the man greatly decayed, and not long lasting. I was also with Mr. Gualter, a good man and well affected to our nation. I was very well entertayned and presented in Zurich and Geneva.

Thus, longing to heare, and praying for your Lordship's good health, I besech God to increase your honor and happiness. From Lyons, 10th May, 1583.

Your Lordship's ever bounden,

W. PARRY.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My verie good Lord, the same night that your Lordship departed from hence, I was taken with an extreme fitt of the chollick, which held me untill the next day at noone; and synce that tyme till now, I have been so greatly troubled with a payne in my backe and head, as I am not able to write. Wherefore your Lordship is to pardon me that I use not myne own hand. My Lord of Ormond hath lately written a letter to my Lords, by which it appeareth that Desmond is brought to great extremitie and miserie, and in his said letter to my Lords requireth authoritie and direction from hence to dischargd his souldiers, wherof I moved her Majestie before the receipt of these letters. By a letter from the Lord Justices, which I send your Lordship herewith, it appeareth that George Carew * hath latelie comitted a verie fowle act, able to make the Irishmen enter into an hatred of us, trusting us in nothing, and thinking that there is treacherie in anie fayre promises made unto them. I am verie sorrie for this act, and, though I love the gentleman well, yet do I wishe some exemplarie punishment done on him for this fact. Yesterday here arrived a messenger from Monsieur to her Majestie, who wold have spoken with me, but that I could not by reason of my sicknes, so of his coming and cause thereof I can say nothing, howbeit he, purposing, as I heare, to repaire to your Lordship, I suppose you are acquaynted with the matter of his coming.

Touching Master Fenton, and a callender or jornall of this his voiage,† so soone as he cometh hither I will satisfie your

* George Carew was created, in 1603, Baron Carew of Clopton, in Warwickshire, and by Charles I. Earl of Totness.

† The Journal of Fenton's voyage is printed in the interesting collection of Hakluyt, vol. iii. The chaplain of this small fleet was Mr. Walker, see p. 178, of this volume.

desyre in that behalfe. And so I commend your Lordship humblie to God. From the Court, the second of Julye, 1583.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELY.

Right Honorable, sithens your Lordship last being here in London, there have been two great feasts, the one at the Grocer's Hall, the other at the Haberdasher's Hall. At the Haberdasher's feast was my Lord Maior and divers of his bretherne, with myself, where my Lord Maior, after the second course come in, dyd take the great standing cup, of the gift of Sir William Garrett, being full of ypocraze, and silence being commanded through all the tables, all men being bare-headed, my Lord before all men did use these words with a convenient lowd voyce.

"Mr. Recorder of London, and you my good bretherne the Aldermen, beare witness that I do drynke unto Mr. Alderman Massam, as Sheriff of London and Middlesex, from Michaelmas next coming, for one whole yere, and I do beseeche God to graunt him as quiet and peaceable a yere, with as good and gracious favour of her Majestie, as I myself, and my bretherne the Sheriffs now being, have hytherto had, and as I trust shall have."

This spoken, all men desired the same. The sword-bearer in hast went to the Grocers' feast, where Mr. Alderman Massam was at dinner, and there dyd openlie declare the words that my Lord Maior had used, whereunto (silence made, and all being hushe) the Alderman answered verie modestlie in this sort: "First, I thank God, who through his great goodness hath called me from a verie poore and meane degree unto this worshipfull estate. Secondlie, I thanke her Majestie for her gracious goodnes in allowing unto us these great

and ample franchises. Thirdlie, I thank my Lord Maior, for having so honorable opinion of this my companie of Grocers, as to make choice of me, being a poor member of the same." And this said, bothe he and all the companie pledged my Lord, and gave him thanks.

Mr. Nowell, of the court, hath latelie bene here in London. He caused his man to give a blowe unto a carrman. His man hath striken the carrman with the pummell of his sword, and therewith hath broken his skull and killed him. Mr. Nowell and his man are lyke to be indicted, whereof I am sure to be muche trobled with his letters and his frynds, and what by other means, as in the verie like case heretofore, I have bene even with the same man. Here are sundrie yong gentylmen that use the court, that most commonlie terme theymselves gentylmen; when any of these have done any thinge amisse, and are complayned of, or arrested for debt, then they run unto me, and no other excuse or answer can they make, but say—"I am a gentylman, and being a gentylman, I am not thus to be used at a slave and a colion's handes." I know not what other plea Mr. Nowell can plead. But this I saye, the fact is fowle. God send hym good deliverance. I thinke, in my conscience, that he maketh no reckoning of the matter.

It was my chance to examine a matter in the courte holden at Bridewell. I have bene complayned of to the counsell-board. I was sent for. Mr. Secretarie received my answer, and told the complainants they had deserved to be hanged. And this is the case: Abraham of Abraham, a gentylman of an hundred pound land in Com. Lanc. put his daughter and heire unto my Ladie Gerrard of the Breme. Sir Thomas and my Ladie being here in London, one Dwelles, a fenser near Cicell House, and his wife, by indirect meanes, being of kyn to the girle, dyd invite all my Lord's children and gentylwomen unto a breakefast. They came thither, and at their coming the youthes were carried up to the Fense Hall. My Lady's daughters and gentylwomen must nedes play at the

cordes, will they nill they. The girle Abraham by the wife of the howse was conveyed into a chamber, and shut the doore after her, and there left her. The girl found in the chamber four or five tall men; she knew them not. And immediately the girle fell into a great feare, seeing them to compasse her abowt. Then began an old priest to read upon a booke; his words she understood not, saving these words, "I Henry take thee Suzane to my wedded wife," &c. This done, they charged the wenche never to discover this to any body lyving.

And dyner being done, the wenche tolde to her fellowes very lamentably what had bene done, and they over to Sir Thomas and my Ladie; and upon complaynt I sent for the fenser's wife, who wold confesse nothing. I went with her myself to Bridewell, where there was a full court, and thither came Sir Thomas with the wenche, and there we bolted owt the whole matter, and dyd no more. The fenser's wife is returned to the Counter. The wenche is with my Lady Gerrard. She was never in Bridewell, as the fenser and one Poolwhele dyd advance to some of my Lords. The wenche was there to accuse the fenser's wife in open court. My Lord, this being the fact and the true case thereof, I fynd the same to be felonie by Ac. 3, H. 7, ca. 2. And therefore methinketh suche companions as this fenser and his wife are, ought not to be allowed to deface suche poore men as I am in suche order before the Lords.

Thus most humblie I take my leave of your good Lordship, this 18th of Julie, 1583.

Your good Lordship's most bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

FRANCIS TOUKER TO LORD BURGHELY.

The 22d July, 1583.

Right Honorable, since my laste being with your Honor, I have bene three times at the Marshallsea, where I finde one

Ticher, who was acquainted with me in Rome. This Ticher, at my requeste, procured Christopher Fosteres to write unto the Rector of the Englishe seminarie in Rome for the deliverie of her housbande out of the gallies, who was condemned with Peter Barker. He saide also with some travell she might have the Quene of Skotte's letter to the Pope, or Fectnume's to the Cardinalls. He preferred me to convey my letter at any time to Nicolas Fitzharbord, in Rome. I thinke the conveier of the letters would be knowen with some diligence. Ticher hath written two times since his imprisonment, but not answered; he warned me to beware of one Robert Woodward, who served some time Doctor Wendon in Rome. They have great intelligence, and feare him muche.

In Aprell laste there came from Rome to Napoles an Irishe-man whom the Pope created Bishoppe of Rosse in Irelande, and gave him authoritie to make priestes, by which authoritie he gave orders to as many as came and got much money. The Archbishoppe of Napoles forbade him, but the Pope's nuncio maintained his doings. This Bishoppe staide in Napoles only for passage into Spaine, and so directly for Ireland. He carried with him great store of pardones and agnosdeis to the Pope's friends in Irelande. He hath to his servant one Thomas Galtrope, a marchant's son of Dewlin. This Galtrope pretends to leave the Bishoppe's service and return to his father, at their coming home.

Also there died one John Davies in Rome, who served the Lord William Howard, as he saide. This Davies said in Rome, that happie shall they be one daie that have launguages, for when God takes our Prince from us, there will be much troubles in Englande, and great revenging of old quarrells, but he saide if the Earle could get Norwiche on his heade, they did not care, with many like words.

Upon Soundaie nexte I go towards Exeter, and return by the end of Auguste: if it be your Honour's pleasure that I

shall come to you before I depart, Mr. Cope maie let me knowe of it.

FRANCIS TOUKER.

SIR WILLIAM CECIL* TO LORD BURGHLEY.

(Extract.)

* * * *

I write unto your Lordship no newes, because the court is not here, but yet looked for the last of this monethe.

Upon St. Bartelmeus Day, we had here solempn processions, and other tokens of triumphs and joy, in remembrance of the slaughter committed this time eleven years past. But I doubt they will not so triumph at the day of judgment.

Thus, most humbly craving your Lordship's blessing, I commit the same and my Lady to Almighty God.

At Paris, this 26th of August.

Your Lordship's most obedient son,

W. CECILL.

SIR J. NORRYS TO MR. HERLE.

Mr. Herle, I receaved yours of the 23rd by the post. Your advertisement of Fraunce concures for the most part with those that we have here, touching warres prepared against the religion; but we say withall, that the fresh newes of the truce made between the Turck and the Persian wyl break that course, and it is looked for that at a general assembly of the nobility at Paris, the 20th of thys month, where we hear the King wyl be, the intent to accept the inquisition wil be greatly repugned by the Catholicks themselves, and not lyke to get forward. We have receaved also letters from Monsr. from Cambray, who saith he is arrived there with

* Lord Burghley's youngest son.

8000 footmen and 2000 horse, and attendeth but that the States should accept hym, and then to begin a new warre agaynst Spayn. By thys we guesse that Monsieur is not comprehended in any resolution to make warre against the Protestants, and that the Kinge wyll not begin a warre till he see what part Monsieur wyll take. Our negotiations are heard, but you knowe the humour of those people, howe slowe they are to give aunswer. From Cologne we hear the Duke Casimer is arrived to mediate an agreement, and, as far as I can learne, the towne wyll be content with that bysshop, which is lyke to bring them first peace. The Prince of Parma hath held hys determynations in suspence a whyle, partly for that he was informed that I should bring some forces hither, and partly to hear what Monsieur did in Fraunce, but nowe he procedeth to besiege Ipre.

I am not of opinion, under correction of the wyser, that it is a good course to make fayr weather to the Queen of Scotland.* My reasons I wyll discourse by the next, because the wind now surpriseth me, and therefore, with great thanks to your remembring of me, I wyll commytt you to God.

From Flushing, thys 13th of Sept. *stilo corretto*, 1583.

Your good frend,

J. NORREYS.

TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.†

Madame, le $\frac{16}{xv}$ de ces mois au departement de l'ambassadeur de Walsingham, vostre filz m'a certifié qu'il est dé-

* Some approaches were at this time made towards a treaty for the liberation of Mary, but the unexpected discovery of her treacherous dealings, and of new plots in which she was engaged, put a stop to them.

† TRANSLATION.—“Madam, the 15th of this month, at the departure of the ambassador Walsingham, your son assured me that he is de-

terminé de m'envoyer 26 en toute diligence. J'appерcois qu'il est dutout ordonné à poursuivre l'amitié et ligue de ce royaume, et de suivre en tout le conseil de Monsieur de Guise, d'achever le traicté comencé entre vous et luy. Partant si vous donnez bon ordre par delà, j'estime que vos affaires pourront bien aisément estre menez à bon port. La povreté de vostre filz est si grande qu'il ne peut mettre en exécution la moindre partie de ces desseigns. Parquoy je vous supplie de tenir la main par vostre moyen et conseil à l'endroit de Monsieur de Guise et aultres qu'il soit secouru en cela. Je suis contraint moy mesme d'entreprendre ce voiage à mes despens, ce que je ne puis bonnement soustenir si vostre Majesté ne me faict secourir. Car le principal motif qui me le faict entreprendre est l'avancement de vostre service. Désirant pour le mesme, que vostre Ma. me face entendre en quoy particulièrement et en quelle manière vostre Ma. désire que je m'employe par delà. Walsingham a esté fort mal receu et entretenu.

Sept. 26, 1583.

terminated to send me into France with all diligence. I perceive that he is altogether given to pursue the friendship and league of that kingdom, and to follow in everything the counsel of Monsieur de Guise, to finish the treaty begun between you and him. So if you give good order there, I think that your affairs may easily be brought to a good end. The poverty of your son is so great, that he cannot put in execution the least part of his design. Wherefore I pray you hold a hand by your means and counsel with regard to Monsieur de Guise and others, that he may be aided in that. I am myself obliged to undertake this voyage at my expense, which I cannot well support if your Majesty does not cause me to receive aid. For the principal motive which makes me undertake it is the advancement of your service. Desiring for the same, that your Majesty give me to understand in what particularly, and in what manner your Majesty desires that I may employ myself there. Walsingham has been very ill received and entertained."

This is an intercepted letter, in cypher in the original, from some one of Mary's party in Scotland, where Walsingham was on an embassy. The cypher 26 must mean France. It is curious that the writer avoids calling James king.

A LETTER OF NEWS.

Sithense the writing of my last, Right Honorable Lord, this further is to be advertised, that the Lord Treasurer is called for backe from Burgheley in diligence, and will be here this day in his jorney towards the courte. My Lord of Leicester is also like to be staid from Warwickshire, which riseth of the affayres that growe now great. Of Mr. Secretary's successe and proceeding in Scotland, the rest of our directions depende.

D. Casimire hath a new messenger here, and so hathe the King of Navarre. The sayd Casimire is at Bon, and hath sent some deputyes to the States of the Low Countryes, to accomde with them uppon articles, which, if they agree unto, then will he, after the appeasing of the cawses of Colleyn, (which he makes verie easie,) marche downe with his army into Flaundres to rayse the seige of Ipre.

The principall mark he shoots at, and most harde to at-tayne, is to joyne Germany, France, and England in the action, and to establish the onlie Protestant religion throughout the Lowe Countryes, saving in those places that the Frenche King shal be master by conquest, and there the sayd King is to use his owne religion and authority, and to annex his conquests to the crowne of Fraunce, as Casimire shall do some other parts to the empire, and the rest to be for England. In which treaty, all the Protestants of France, of Germanye, England, and ellswhere, are to be comprised. A godly wishe, but an impossible acte, to my capacity.

To introduce the Frenche King thereunto, be two principall reasons; the first of necessity, and the other of proffytt, viz. the greatnes of the King of Spaine is suche, and his ambition, that if it be not rembarred, the same will grow dredfull and dangerous to France, as the next neighbor to offence and perill, and best deserving it by provocation.

The other reason is, the proffyt that seemes great and certayn to the Frenche King, to be possessed by this conjunction of Artoys, Cambresy, and other provinces next adjoyning to France, which is suche an augmentation to the crowne, as should incline the Frenche King to accept sodenly of this motion, and satisfie Monsieur's ambition for all pretences, titelles, or claymes to the Lowe Countryes.

The Quene of England, likewise, seeing that religion should be secured, the Protestants provided for, the priviledges of the countrey remayne entire to the States, the sea townes not in possession of the Frenche, herself to be entrusted with the best and strongest places of the countrey for her assurance, the King of Spaine kept short, and matched also with the authority of the empire, she were as easilie, it is presumed, drawn to like hereof as any other. All which, in my opinion, will resolve into smoke, and is the thinge that the Frenche and the Spanyards would have gladliest entertayned, even to amuse and entangle us and our side in irresolution and hope, till all were loste, and that a full division were made among those of the Low Countryes depending hereof, who in the ende should be dryven to caste themselves into the King of Spaine's mercy simply, which is even now in handling.

There is some great thing presentlie expected from the King of Navarr by his ambassador, for the personage is honorable and well-accompanied that is come hither; it is the Baron of Pardillan, called Monsieur de Segure.

Her Majestie came this night to Ottlands from the hunting, somewhat crased with the cold. Yong Kingessmele is growen into great favor at the court.

The Prince of Cymaye, son to the Duke of Areschott, a wise and religious gentleman; giving great hope that he will do good offices to the States there, is not only made Governor of Flaunders, but overseer of the whole, which dothe take from the Prince of Orange's authority muche former credytt, and brings him now lowe indeede. Mr. Norris shall have great

charge and commandement there, and so shall Coronell Morgan be well employed. Also Mr. Norris' agent, called Audeley Daniell, is arrived here this day with letters.

The said Prince of Orange is gone to Doodrecht in Holland, for that is the place appointed for the meeting of the States Generall to conclude of their affayres. Some think that Casimirus in person, or some from him, will be there.

Ipre is straightlie besieged, and hathe the plage within it, which will breed some despaire among them, if they be not the sooner rescued, or well persuaded they may have it done in tyme. If that place be gone, Gawnt and Bruges are devided from ayding one another, and secluded from looking out of doore once with the losse of the whole contrey about them, or of their wonted provision and intercourse.

The Prince of Parma, with his forces, are about Namures, and towards Cleve, to favor the new Bishop of Colleyn. The town of Colleyn and Casimire do treat of some accord to restore the old Bishop to his degree, whereof we shall hear more by the next.

Archeduke Charles of Awstria is made Generall by the Emperor for these warres of Colleyn, with great supplies out of sundry places for the proceeding therein, having the King of Spaine's purse and the Pope's to furnishe him, and all the favor that Italy and the other Papisticall Princes can minister.

The King of Spaine shall incestuonslie againe marrie with his other niece, the widow of France, and the Duke of Savoye is sayd to be contracted with the daughter of Lorreyn, and therof may be sene, that the Frenche King, the howse of Guyse, Monsieur, and the King of Spaine, do runne all one course to our confusion that be of the religion, if they may prevayle, howsoever they disguyse to the contrary in their speeches and negociations, which cost the poore King, Don Anthonio, (who lyes in Symyer's howse beside Paris, a trustie hoste to be assured of,) his lyfe, to begyn with. The

Lowe Countreyes, their liberties, and livings, and Scotland to be stirred upp against us, with some further domesticall trouble within England, if they may procure it. But our gracious Lord liveth, which, with the death of one King of Spaine, or otherwise, as shall please him, is able to turne their counsels and forwardnes agaynst God to their own ruine, and make their power as it is, even duste and ashes.

There is a massacre begun in Languedock against some of the religion. King Phillip hath done so much by his pragmatikall decree, through Spaine, for shipping, and by his own building of shippes, as he hath a newe and mightie navye well nigh ready, to garde the coastes of Spaine and the fleete of the Indyas, which shall have a perpetuall allowance for the maintayning of the sayd navy in state still, and for the uses above sayd, besyde his other navyes that shal be employed in the Levant Seas, within the Strayts, and hitherwards into the Lowe Countreyes, but God is to dispose of men's large purposes, according to his owne secret will.

Butrech, who is the drawer of this plan for Casimirus, to joyne France and England, in the action of the Lowe Countreyes, in one, is hurte with a small shott before Colleyn, but in no danger.

Casimirus hath taken ten riche waggons of Italyens goods above Colleyn, and stayes them, which riseth to a great masse of money.

Sir Walter Mildmay is still here; Mr. Secretary yet at Barwick, which may presage somewhat by his staye there so long. It is thought that he shall have occasion to be occupied in Scotland till Christmas, which is nothing for his health and convenience. The safe conduct of the Scottishe King sent Mr. Secretary to Barwick, was found insufficient, and therefore returned back, a matter of some impediment and cunning withall.

The Duke of Guise lyes extremely sick, some say poisoned. His cousin germain, the Marquesse of Elbuef, hath the

charge of the shipping preparing in Normandy, and of the forces gathered therabouts.

We have preparations of musters throughout England, along the sea coaste, and the borders of Scotland are provided for ; but not so as I humbly wyshe, which I refer to your wisdome and authority when time may serve.

One Preston, a student of some accompt in Cambridge, namely for oratorie, is sayd to be withdrawen into Scotland as a malcontent, and there made much of by the King, who incorages hereby others to followe the lyke example, but un-wisely in my opinion for the King and his actions.

Du Reaw and the Frenche ambassador shall have a second audience at the court on Sunday next, but the King of Navarr's man shal be received and delt with to-morrow before hand.

John Herbart hath compounded our merchants' causes well in Denmark with the King, and is sent from thence into Polonia, for the trafficque of those contries to be established at Elving in Prussia, and at Cracovia in Poland. William Wade hath likewise done his parte with the Emperor in impugning the Stillyard men. And so very humbly I finishe. The 6th of November, 1583.

ROBERT BOWES TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.

It may please your Honor, the King contynueth still at Holyroode-house, and hath bene there accompanied with sundry noblemen, as Argyle, Arrayn, Crawford, Montrosse, Bothwell, Glencarne, and others of the nobility and counsell, who have lately bene much occupied, and chiefly in th'examination and tryall of the accusation made agaynst Mr. Andrewe Melyn, provost of the University of St. Andrewes, a person had in great estymation in that realme for his learning and good behayviour. He is chardged that in his sermon he compared this court and the courtiers to the court of

King James the Third, and the courtiers therof who for their wickednes were hanged over Lauther bridge; that their Nabugodonaser (meaning the King's mother*) had for her synnes bene fed these two seven yeares with hay, and that for their synnes, she should yet come agayne to them; and, lastly, that the King was extraordinarily called to the crowne and kyngdome. Whereunto he confessed to have made some mention of part of the matters objected agaynst hym, but not in suche termes or effects as he was accused, shewing that albeit he noted the courtiers of King James the Third, (after many great benefits given to them by God,) became proud and insolent, and thereon received sharpe punishment, yet he did not resemble this court or the courtiers to them, neyther did he irreverently speak of the King's mother, or foretell or prognosticate anything of her returne; and in his prayer he gave thanks to God for the great blessings he had powred on the King, recounting particularly sundry graces, and among the same that God had favourably and extraordinarily called the King to this kingdome in lyke manner as David, Salomon, and Boas were, ending with an earnest prayer to God to preserve the King, and make hym thankfull for these gracious gyfts, lyke as by further advertisement to be given by Mr. Melyn himselfe and to be shewed to me, will appear more at large.

In this many wytnesses have bene examined, and straitly withall, by the King in person; yet they have approved the innocency of Mr. Melyn, that besydes them hath also many other good testimonies for him in this behalfe.

In this he offered to abyde th'uttermost torture and punyshment in case th'articles layd against him should be proved, putting the King and counsell in memory of th'act of parliament made for the maner of tryall of mynisters accused to commyt any offence in their sermons. Whereuppon he was soone checked for declyning and appealing from the King, and thereon by act of counsell he was charged to ward in

* Mary Queen of Scots.

Edenburgh castle. Whereunto he was ready to obey; but afterwards he was charged by other letters to enter into warde in Blacknesse. These letters were offred to have bene sygnd by Argyle and Montrosse, who wold not subscribe thereunto, and great difficulty was made therein, yet Crawford and Morton subscribed. And after the King in publicke counsell caused Argyle, Montrosse, and all the rest then present to subscribe to this matter.

The sight of this earnest course, and other circumstances, occasioned Mr. Melyn to putt hymselfe in safety, and thereon to come hither, purposing to seeke to recover the King's grace and favor uppon the understanding of his innocency, and thereon to returne agayne to his charge and office, or otherwise to passe to the schooles, as by himself he will, I thynke, shortly signify to you.

It is told the King that Seaton arryved safely at Callys, and I am informed that before Seaton landed he wrote to the King, signifying that he did abyde at Yarmouth-the-roade above twenty-four hours, in despite of all her Majestie's shippes, with other braveries, agreable to his humor.

* * * * *

Gowry hath obtayned lycence to passe out of the realme; nevertheless he will tarry th'ende of the dayes given hym, and then he will make no hast to depart.

James and Archebald Douglass, (base sonnes of Morton deceased,) are already departed. Carmychell and the rest are in readynes to follow them.

Mackoneill being lately at Court, hath renewed his lease for the isles, and thereon he offred, as I heare, very largely to take the possession of the Isle of Man, seming that the same might be done without great danger or difficulty. Thus, with myne humble duty, I pray God have you in his blessed keeping. At Barwicke, the 24th of February, 1583.

Your Honor's at comandement,

ROBERT BOWES.

R. BOWES TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

It may please your Honor, by th'advyse of some courtiers, the King is still persuaded to think that Angusse, Atholl, Marre, Gowry, and Master of Glamis, were convened quietly at St. Johnston, and have resolved to enter into some action against him, or some especial persons about hym, and that Gowry will not obey the charge given him to depart out of the realme at the day prescribed, being now passed. Hereon the King had purposed to have levyed four hundred footemen, wherof three hundred are already gathered under Captains Bruce, Ramsey, and Creighton. The rest are to be supplied, if they can be gotten; but it is not yet agreed how they shal be payed. The barons and gentlemen of Lowthyan have attended and kept a stronge watche in their armor every night for the King's defence. Now the gentlemen of Fyfe are comed to Edinburgh to garde the King, abowt whom and in the towne there watcheth nightly seven or eight hundreth men, and the ward and scourage on the day is sett fyve or six myles abowt the towne. The passages by water are by the King's commandement stopped; and the King and court are so greatly moved herewith, pretending to prepare to go against Gowry with all their forces, in case he shall not depart according to the charge given hym, as hereon it is bruted and looked for generally through the realme, and chiefly on the borders and in the sowth part thereof, that the Lords be still assembled together at St. Johnston's, intending to gather their powers and come agaynst the King and courtiers, owt of which rumours I thynke that longe before these you have received severall advertisements. But in all this tyme, Gowry hath contynued in St. Johnston quietly, with his ordinary retynue, having lately sent Atholl his sonne-in-law to sue to the King for a prorogation of the day appoynted for his departure, but it was not graunted, and Atholl is directed to remaine in Edinburgh during the King's pleasure, howbeit he is now in hope to gett leave to returne home. Angusse is

sayd to have broken his word, and therewith it hath bene given out that he came to Tomptallan, offering to sue for Arrayne's favors, and to be reconciled to hym. He hath sent Rathowse presently to the court, to travell in his behalfe, and to make it knowen that he hath truely kept his ward in Brichen, and touching that brute for seeking of Arrayne's favor, his frends say that it procedeth more upon a subtile practise, then any playn truthe.

Because those Lords do understand that the King and courtiers conceiving thus of them, are purposed to put at them, (as they terme it,) therefore it is looked they shall provide for their defence by the best meanes they can; whereupon it is thought that some troubles shall hastely followe thereon. Yet others think that those dark clowdes may, peradventure, dissolve in small droppes, without any violent storme, whereof some better certainty will be had within fewe dayes.

Upon proclamation published at Edenburgh, that all the servants and dependers of Marr and Glamis should depart owt of the towne within three howres, and that none of Cludesdale (except Sir James Hamylton his sonne and servant,) should come into Edenburgh, the Countesse of Marre was commanded to passe out of Sterlynge, and Col. Steward coming to make searche in the Lady Hume's howse in Edenburgh for letters and persons suspected, gave her order to depart spedily, whereunto she obeyed.

Every fourth quarter of the towne of Edenburgh was charged to watch nightly by turns, and upon the increase of the feare in the courte, the whole towne was charged to watche nightly, wherewith they were soon tyred: and upon advertysment of some default in the watch, and that some others were watching in St. Giles' churchyard for the safety of the towne and ministers according to their custom, Arrayn in some passion passed into Edenburgh, and Huntley into Canyngate, to serche the watche, where Arrayn, fynding Mr. Thomas Cragge, an advocate, Mychaell Gylbert, and other

burgesses, with their wives, in the streets returning to their howses, checked them that they were not personally in the watch, and albeit they humbly answered, that they had their sufficient deputies there, agreeable to the charge and custom, yet he sodenly stroke Gylbert with his baston, pursuing hym into his owne howse, where he beat hym well. This is evill taken by the towne, that put a garde to their ports, mynding to have kept Arrayne out of the towne. And after some dyfficulty shewed for his entry, afterwards he was at length received.

In the late revocation of the King's graunts, Morton was so favourably provided, as thereby he thought himselfe in especiall grace ; neverthelesse pressing th'other day to come into the King's chamber, and entring in it unawares behynd the King, while he was at his pastime and not pleased to be troubled therin, he heard the King command the door to be kept agaynst hym, adding that he was but a foole. And albeit the King (espying that he heard it,) wold have salved the matter, yet he is departed greatly discontented.

Glencarne left the court much more sodenly then was looked for. Bothwell coming to the court to renew the graunts of his offices and possessions given by the King, obtayned the King's good will, and thereon retyred to Kelso, purposing to returne to the court within a short tyme. At his late repayre and departure from the court, it is by some reported to have bene farr otherwyse.

Among these other rumors, it is commonly hinted, and believed by many, that 600 Frenchmen shall come with the next wynd out of Fraunce into Scotland, for the King's garde. Sundry of Edinburgh and Dundey, (receaving letters from their frends in Parys,) have advertised me, that by these letters it is confirmed and certified that the sayd number of Frenchmen shall be sent to Newhaven to be embarked for Scotland. Howbeit I cannot learne that Seaton, in his late letters to the King, hath made any mention thereof, and knowing that you understand by others the truth in this bet-

ter then I can signify, therefore I forbear to wryte further thereof.

It is advertised to me by a wise and honest gentleman, that it is done hym to understand that Sir John Seaton, ar-ryving at Dumbarton, or in the west of Scotland, was secretly in Canyngate, and is gone to Seaton. That he hath bene privily with the King, notwithstanding that he sayth to suche as he will shewe hymselfe unto, that he may not present himselfe to the King's presence, nor can tell what suc-cesse he shall have in his late negotiation in Spayne, untill Seaton his father shall return unto Scotland. And herewith I am advertised also that by the late letters brought to the King from Seaton, he commendeth the good entertaynment given hym in Fraunce, shewing that he was directed to re-tyre unto and remayne at Roan, untill the French King's answer shall be sent thither to hym. He sheweth many fayre and large promises to be made to hym there for the King his master's welfare, yet with conditions that the King of Scotts shall contynue and performe lyke frendshippe to the Frenche King, as his progenitors in Scotland have shewed, according to th'ancient league betwixt those nations; and that in case the French King shall invade the Protestants in Fraunce or elsewhere, that the King of Scots shall assyst hym notwithstanding the matter of religion, and that he shall restrayne the preachers and his other subjects in Scotland hereafter to rayle agaynst hym, or the nation of Fraunce. Some in court are still perswaded that Seaton shall returne with more plenty of the King's seales then thousands of his crownes, to be sent to the King of Scots, which I know you will by others understand sooner and better then I can learne and certify.

Crawford is recovered of the hurt receaved by the fall of his horse. He hath taken into his defence Dumfermlynge and his cause, otherwise Dumfermlynge had bene charged to have followed others, and sought forrayn nations.

It is meant, (as I am informed,) that the Castle of Edin-

burgh shal be taken from Alexander Erskyne, and commytt to the custody of Collonell Stewart.

Thus, with myne humble duty, I pray God have you in his blessed keeping. At Barwicke, the 5th Aprill, 1584.

Your Honor's at commandement,

ROBERT BOWES.

ROBERT BOWES TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

It may please your Honor, on Monday last the 20th hereof, in the evening, William Colville received his dispatch at Sterling, and came hither yesternight with letters to myselfe from Angusse, Marre, and Glamys, referring credit to the bearer aforesayd, which credit rested chiefly in the declaration of sending sondry petitions made by the sayd Lords, and appearing in the note inclosed.

The sayd messenger hath herewith informed me as followeth. First, that the Lords and their companyes came together at Sterlynge on Saturday last, agreable to my former, and that on Sonday last, the castle there, being in the custody of Henry Steward, (brother of Arrayn,) and Mr. John Steward, the constable thereof, accompanied with eight other persons, was rendered upon composition that Henry, John, and the rest in the castle, should depart without hurt. And albeit, liberty was given to Henry Steward and the rest to have departed at his pleasure, yet Henry being advysed that some of his particular enemyes lay in the way in awayt to kyll hym, he rather chose to tarry still with them at Sterlynge, wheruppon he is kept in the castle there.

That these Lords contynue still in the castle and towne of Sterlynge, with five or sixe hundreth horsemen, hoping that the rest of their associates shal be with them with all their forces very speedily, and that they were advertised, at the time of the departure of this messenger, that Atholl wold

be there on the morrow, as well with his own power, as also with all Gowry's forces. That the same day the forces of Boyd, Master of Cassils, Bargamye, and sondry Barons of the northe parts, and in Angusse, Fyfe, and other places, shall shortly come to them. In hope of which succour and support they have entered into this action, which by a large and long proclamation, already published in Sterlynge, they protest and declare not to be taken in hand in any waye to the hurt of, or against, the King their soveraigne, but only to bring sundry persons abowte hym, and abusing hym and th'estate, to due tryall and chastisement, as their offences fownd and proved by lawe should deserve.

That the Countesse of Gowrye came to Sterlynge, purposing to have passed that way to the King, to have sought his favour towards her husband, and falling into dangerous sycknes by her travell so soone after delyvery of chylde, she was constrayned to stay sometyme at Sterlynge, whereupon commandement is given that she shall not come nere the King's presence by twenty myles.

That Argyle sent an especial messenger to Glamys, signifying that the King had sent for hym in suche sort as he could not deny to go to him, with his ordynary howsehold, desyring Glamys to send his servant to hym with his advyse, what he wold counsell hym to do at his coming to the King. Whereuppon Glamys sent a gentleman to Argyle, advysing him to repaire to the King with his household servants, and to let the King and all noblemen with hym understand that those Lords in Sterlynge are not convened to oppose themselves against his Majestie's person, but to seeke that some evil instruments about hym and abusing hym and th'estate, may be drawn to examynation, tryall, and punyshment by lawe, according to the judgment of his Majestie, and generall convention of all th'estates and parliament, in lyke sort as they will suffer and yield themselves unto. Which Argyle hath promised to performe effectually, and with all favour.

That Rothowse, Lyndsey, and sondry others, carrying

good affection to these Lords at Sterlynge, are determyned to come to the King with their forces ; neverthelesse that they will in tyme informe the King of the true meaning of the Lords in this action, and perswade hym thereon to stay his forces, and in no wyse aventure his person in battayle for such a cause. That if their counsell herin shal be rejected, they will then withdrawe themselves and their forces with them.

Besydes, by other intelligence, I am advysed that the King is fully resolved to proceede in person against these Lords, with all possible expedition and violence, purposing to sett forward this day to Lithkoe.

Upon the proclamations made, and commanding all men, betwixt sextene and sixtie, to come to hym, his forces gathered at Edinburgh are very great ; for fewe (others then suche as especially depend on the Lords' partye in this action) do disobey or deny to come to the King as they are accommanded. Among others, the towne of Edinburgh, upon these musters and comandement, have agreed to sett forthe five hundred footemen to attend on the King at their charge. And besydes, they have disbursed and lent the King 11,000*l*. Scots, to list and entertayn 500 other footemen. All the boroughes and townes of the sea coaste are commanded to come to the King, and they yield thereunto. So as the forces assembled and coming to hym will surely be exceding great, and farre above the numbers that can be gathered by the Lords ; who, notwithstanding, are in hope that all which come in feld agaynst them will not enter into the battayle agaynst them and this action. At the coming away from Edinburgh of myne informer hereof, the King and his counsell were about to appoynt th'officers in his army, which then were not chosen.

The castle of Edinburgh is not yet called for ; but because the King suspecteth James Rede, the constable thereof, and hath commanded the captain to put another in his place, therefore the captain suffereth another to occupy his roome,

keeping hym still in the castle and especiall trust. And albeit, the same castle shall be commanded to be delyvered up, yet the captain is hitherto mynded to keepe the same still, in respect that the charge thereof was commytt to hym by parliament, and with order that he should not leave the same by any other commandement or authority. The King maketh suche hast to the field, and with such earnestnes, as it is thought the matter shall be brought to speddy tryall, either by battayle or by defeyt of the Lords, that hitherto are sayd to have small powers against the great forces of the King, which I commend to the good pleasure and will of God, and to the experience to be sene following herein. Thus, with myne humble duty, I pray God have you in his blessed keeping. At Barwicke, the 23rd of Aprill, 1584.

Your Honor's at commandement,

ROBERT BOWES.

ROBERT BOWES TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

It may please your Honor, this mornynge I have receaved credible advertisement, that Coll. Steward went forth towards Sterlynge on Thursday last in the night, with 1000 horsemen, promising to knocke on Sterlynge walls, but he stayed longe in Lithkoe. Afterwards he passed to Torwood, where some small skymishes were, of none effect. Yesterday, about eleven in the forenoone, the King and his army marched from Edenburgh towards Lithkoe, with 6000 men of horsebacke and foote, of all gatherings. The vayward was comytt to Huntley, Crawford, Arreyn, Montrosse, and Rothhowse. The King was in the myddle ward, garded with 800 shott, sett forth of Edenburgh. And in the rereward was the Lords Saynclere, Somervile, Hume, and others. The yong Duke was commytt to, and left with, the provost of Edenburgh.

The Lords in Sterlynge, being advised as well of the present forces against them, as also of others gathering, did

put four score or a hundred men into the castle, and after withdrew themselves from Sterlynge, for their forces were not above fyve or syxe hundred men, and suche frends as promised to come, fayled and brake promyse.

Thus they are departed from Sterlynge, and given backe, but I cannot learne that they be wholly broken. It is advertised herewith to me, that they are drawing together towards the borders, whereof I cannot have any further knowledge, as yet, then conjecture of my informer.

Bothwell is commaunded to returne to his owne howse, leaving his forces behynd hym. His servant sent to Angusse on Thursday last, was taken and brought to the King. Bothwell justified the sending of hym; and that he had wrytten and sent to Angusse to give up kyndnes with them. Bothwell was comed home, but he is sent for agayne.

Lyndesey is warded in Blacknesse; Coldenknowes also commytt to warde; Sesford commanded to forbear to come to the King.

Gowry, as it is credibly reported, hath confessed and discovered the whole matter, and the names of thirty-two noblemen and greate barons to have bene parties in this action, perswading the King thereon to beware to procede over hastily.

Great reward is promised to any that shall apprehend and brynge to the King any of the Lords or parties in this enterprise, and they be publiquely declared traytors and rebels. Thus leaving all others to the next, and with myne humble duty, I pray God have you in his blessed keeping. At Barwick, the 26th of Aprill, 1584.

Your Honor's at comandement,

ROBERT BOWES.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Right honourable, and my very good Lord, upon Whitsundaye there was a very good sermon preached at the New

Church-yard near Bethelme, whereat my Lord Maior was with his bretherne. And by reason no playes were the same day, all the citie was quiett.

Upon Mondaye I was at the court, and went to Kingston to bed, and upon Tuesdaye I kept the lawedaye for the whole libertie of Kingston, and found all quiet and in good order. There lyeth in Kingston Sir John Savage, of Cheshire, with his ladie, at Mr. He. Grises his house, the which is at the Vicarage.

That night returned to London, and found all the wardes full of watches. The cause thereof was for that neere the theatre or curten, at the tyme of the playes, there laye a prentice sleeping upon the grasse; and one Challes alias Grostock did turne upon the toe upon the belly of the same prentice; whereupon this apprentice start up, and after words they fell to playne blowes. The companie increased of bothe sides to the number of 500, at the least. This Challes exclaimed and said, that he was a gentleman, and that the apprentice was but a rascal, and some there were littel better than roogs, that tooke upon them the name of gentelmen, and saide the prentizes were but the skumme of the worlde. Upon these troubles, the prentizes began the next daye, being Tuesdaye, to make mutinies and assemblies, and did conspyre to have broken the prisoners, and to have taken forth the prentizes that were imprisoned. But my Lord and I having intelligence thereof, apprehended four or fyve of the chief conspirators, who are in Newgate, and stand indicted of their lewd demeanours.

Upon Weddensdaye, one Browne, a serving man in a blew coat, a shifting fellowe, having a perilous wit of his owne, intending a spoil if he could have brought it to passe, did at the theatre-doore quarrell with certayn poore boyes, handicraft prentizes, and strooke some of them; and lastlie, he, with his sword, wounded and maymed one of the boyes upon the left hand. Whereupon there assembled near a thousand people. This Browne did very cunningly conveye himself

awaye, but by chance he was taken after and brought to Mr. Humfrey Smithe, and because no man was able to charge him, he dismyssed hym. And after this, Browne was brought before Mr. Younge, where he used himself so cunninglie and subtillie, no man being there to charge hym, that there also he was dismyssed. And after I sent a warrant for hym, and the constables with the deputie, at the Bell in Holborne, found him in a parlour, fast locked in, and he would not obeye the warrant, but by the meane of the host he was conveyed awaye; and then I sent for the host and, caused hym to appeare at Newgate, at the sessions of oier and determiner, where he was committed untill he brought forth his gest. The nexte daye after he brought hymselfe, and so we indicted hym for his mysdemeanours. This Browne is a common cousener, a thief, and a horse-stealer, and colloureth all his doings here about this towne with a sute that he hathe in the lawe agaynst a brother of his in Staffordshire. He resteth now in Newgate.

Upon the same Weddensdaye at night, two companions, one being a tailor and the other a clerck of the Common Pleas, bothe of the Duchie, and bothe very lewd fellowes, fell out abowt an harlott, and the tailor raised the prentises and other light personnes, and thinking the clerk was ran into Lyon's Inne, ran to the house with 300 at the least, brake downe the wyndowes of the house, and strooke at the gentilmen. During which broyle, one Raynolds, a baker's sonne, came into Flete Strete, and there made sollemne proclamation for clookes. The streate rose and tooke and brought hym unto me. And the next daye we indicted hym also, for this mysdemeanor, with many other more.

Upon Weddensdaye, Thursdaye, Frydaye, and Satterdaye, we dyd nothings els but sitt in commyssion, and examine these misdemeanors. We had good helpe of my Lord Anderson, and Mr. Sackforthe.

Upon Sondaie, my Lord sent two aldermen to the court, for the suppressing and pulling downe of the theatre and

curten, for all the Lords agreed thereunto, saving my Lord Chamberlayn and Mr. Vice-Chamberlayn; but we obtayned a letter to suppress them all. Upon the same night I sent for the Quene's players, and my Lord of Arundell his players, and they all well nighe obeyed the Lords letters. The chiefest of her Highnes' players advised me to send for the owner of the theatre, who was a stubborne fellow, and to bynd him. I dyd so. He sent me word that he was my Lord of Hunsden's man, and that he wold not come to me; but he would in the morning ride to my Lord. Then I sent the under-sheriff for hym, and he brought him to me; and at his coming he showted me out very justice. And in the end, I showed hym my Lord his master's hand, and then he was more quiet. But to . . . for it he wold not be bound. And then I mynding to send hym to prison, he made sute that he might be bounde to appeare at the oier and determiner, the which is to-morrowe, where he said that he was sure the court wold not bynd hym, being a counsellor's man. And so I have graunted his request, where he is sure to be bounde, or els is lyke to do worse.

Upon Sondaie, at afternoon, one brewer's man killed another at Islyngton. The lyke parte was done at the White Chappel, at the same tyme.

The same Sondaie, at night, my Lord Fitzgerrald, with a number of gentilmen with hym, at Moore-Gate, met a tall yong fellowe, being a prentize, and strook hym upon the face with his hatt. Whereupon my Lord and his companie were glad to take a house, and dyd skarcelie escape without great danger. The sheriff came and fett him to his house, where he lodged; and imprisoned one Cotton, that procured my Lord to misuse the prentize. The same night, at Aldersgate Street, a prentise was put in the kage, and the kage was broken by a number of lewd fellowes, and I hearing thereof dyd send my men for hym, and sent hym to the Counter, where to-morrow he shall answeare for his misdemeanour with others.

A Frenchman, a dweller in Flete Street, a hanger upon Monsieur Malvesour, for having received a Frenche boye into his house, and for the conveying hym awaye, who had robbed one of my Lord of Bedford's gentilmen, was brought unto me. My Lord Malvesour sent unto me for hym, and said he wold do justice upon hym hymself. I told the messenger what the lawe was, and wylled hym to bring me sureties, and he should be bailed, untill the Lords were certified thereof. The which they refused to do. But to-morrowe, at the oier and determiner, I will do as I am advised by my Lords the justices. I sent the prisoner, with the cause, unto Mr. Treasurer, thinking that he wold, being a counsellor, have taken order therein; but he returned the prisoner agayne to me. Surelie, my Lord, I love not to have to deale with these embassadors, for surelie I do often see, heare, and fynde things done by them, that are neither godlie nor honorable.

The eldest sonne of Mr. Henrie I heare upon Mondaye, being yesterdaye, fowght in Cheapeside with one Boat, that is, or latelie was, Mr. Vice-Chamberlayn's man; and all was which of them was the better gentilman, and for taking of the wall.

This daie Mr. Cheney, of the Boyes, brought me his yongest sonne, being nephew to Sir Henrie Lee, and wold needes have me to send hym to Bridewell, where he had provided a chamber for hym. But I wold not agree thereunto, but sent hym to be kept with my Lord of Wynt.'s bailiff's house, the which is a place bothe swete and cleane. The yonge gent hathe hurt two, whereof I learne they are lyke to die. The gentilman, as I can perceyve, is wild, *et lucidus inter valla*. And even now cometh in my Lord of Winton's bailiff, and telleth me that he is glad to hire three men to kepe hym both daye and night in this extreme frenzie.

This Weddensdaye morning, the oyer and determiner sat at Newgate, for the quieting of the dailie and nightlie brawles. There appeared my Lord Fitz Gerrald, and one

Cotton of eighteen yeres of age, (more bold then wise,) a marvelous audacious youth, standing altogetther upon his genterie. It so fell out, that, by due examination, my Lord of Kyldare's sonne delt very wisely, well, and circumspectly, without any manner of evill behaviour in any manner of wise. Mr. Wynter, sonne and heir of Mr. George Wynter, deceased, was there, and advised my Lord so to do for tyme's experience. Mr. Doctor Lewes, and the Admirall commission, have made hym a man of good understanding.

An old musicion of the Quene's had this last night *meretricem in suo lectulo*. One Alen, a constable, being *homo barbatus*, the Italian most violentlie tore off Alen's beard, and said he might have a wenche in his chamber, for that he was the Quene's man. Aleyn is now become a *Marquesuto*. My Lord Maior hathe bound the Italian to aunsweare at the next gaole delyverie.

(June 18, 1584.)

SIR JOHN HAWKINS TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My bounden duty in right humble manner remembred unto your good Lordship, I have briefly considered uppon a substantiall course, and the materyall reasons that by myne owne experience, I know (with God's assistance) will strongly annoy and offend the Kinge of Spayne, the mortall enemy of our relygion and the present government of the realme of England.

And surely, my very good Lord, if I shold only consyder and looke for myne own lyfe, my quietnes, and commodyty, then truly myne own nature and dysposition doth preferre peace before all things.

But when I consyder wherunto we are boren, not for ourselves, but for the defence of the churche of God, our prynce, and our contrey, I do then thynke how this most happy go-

vernment myght, with good providence, prevent the con-
spiracies of our enemies.

I do nothing at all doubt of our abylytie in welthe, for
that I am persuaded that the substance of this realme is
trebled in vallue, synce her Majestie's raygne. God be glo-
ryfied for it!

Neyther do I thynk there wanteth provysions carefully
provdyed, of shyping, ordinance, powder, armour, and
munition, so as our people were exercised by some meanes
in the course of warrs.

For I rede when Mahomette the Torke toke that famous
city Constantinople, dygging by the foundations and bot-
tomes of the howses, he found suche infynite treasure, as
the said Mahomet condempning their wretchednes, wondred
how this city could have bene overcome, or taken, if they
had in tyme provdyed men of warre and furnytur for their
defence, as they were very well able; so I say there wanteth
no abylyty in us, if we be not taken unprovided, and upon
a soddayne.

And this is th'only cause that hath moved me to say my
mynd frankly in this matter, and to sett downe these notes
inclosed,* praying th'Almightie God, which directeth the

The inclosure alluded to is as follows:—

* “The best means how to annoy the King of Spayne, in my
opinion, withowt charge to her Majestie, which also shall bryng
great proffyt to her Hyghnes and subjects, is as followeth:—

“First, if it shal be thought mete that the Kinge of Portyngall may
in his ryght make warre with the Kinge of Spayne, then he wold be
the best means to be the head of the faction.

“There wold be obtayned from the sayd King of Portyngall an
auctority to some person, that shold allwayes give leave to suche as
upon their owne charge wold serve and annoy the King of Spayne as
they myght, bothe by sea and land, and of their booties, to paye unto
the King of Portyngall, fyve or ten of the hundrethe.

“There wold be also some person auctorysed by her Majesty to
take notes of suche as do serve the sayd King of Portyngall, and so
that partye with her Majestie's consent to gyve them leve and allow-

harts of all governours, either to the good or benefitt of the people for their relief and delyverance, or ells doth alter and

ance to retyre, victuall, and sell in some port of the West Contrye, for which lybertye they shold paye unto hir Majestie fyve or ten of the hundrethe.

"None shold have leave to serve the sayd King of Portyngall, but they shold put in surety to offend no person, but suche as the sayd King had warre with, but shold be bound to breke no bolke but in the port allowed, where wold be commissioners appoynted to restore those goods as are belonging to friends in amyty with the King of Portyngall, and to allow the rest to the taker.

"There wold be martial law for suche as committed pyracy, for there can be none excuse, but all idle seamen may be employed.

"If these condytions be allowed, and that men may enjoy that which they lawfully take in this service, the best owners and merchant adventurers in the ryver wyll put in fotte, and attempt great things.

"The gentlemen and owners in the west parts will enter depely into this party.

"The Flushingiers wyll also be a great party in this matter.

"The Protestants of France wyll be a great company to help this attempt.

"The Portyngalls in the islands, in Brasyll, and in Geney, (Guinea,) for the most part wyll contynually revolt.

"The fyshings of Spayne and Portyngall, which is their greatest relief, wyll be utterly impeded and destroyed.

"The islands wyll be sacked, their forts defaced, and their brasse ordinance brought away.

"Our own people, as gunners (wherof we have fewe) wold be made expert, and growe in number, our idle people wold grow to be good men of warre both by land and sea.

"The coast of Spayne and Portyngall in all places wold be so annoyed, as to kepe contynuall armyes there wold be no possibylty; for that of my knowledge it is trouble more tedyous and chargeable to prepare shyping and men in those parties then it is with us.

"The voiage offered by Sir Francys Drake might best be made lawfull to go under that lycence also, which wold be secret tyll the tyme draw neere of their readynes.

"All this before rehersed shall not by any meanes draw the King of Spayne to offer a warre, for that this party will not only consyst of Englishmen, but rather of the Frenche, Flemynge, Scotts, and suche lyke, so as King Phyllip shall be forced by great intreaty to make her

hynder their understanding to the punyshment and ruin of the people for their synns and offences. Humbly beseching your good Lordshipe to beare with my presumption in dealing with matters so highe, and to judge of them by your great wisdome and experyence how they may in your Lordship's judgement be worthy the consyderation, humbly taking my leave.

From Deptford, the 20th of July, 1584.

Your honourably Lordship's ever assuredly bounden,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

W. DAVISON TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

(Extract, Edinburgh, July 1584.)

Sir, before the receipt of your Honor's letters by my man, we had here the unhappy newes of the murther committed on the poore Prince of Orenge, which as it is generally lamented of all good men, so is there little better issue (without God's goodnes) expected of D'Espernon's voiage to the King of Navarre, flowing, as it is feared, from the same blood-thirsty counsell, howsoever it be cloaked and disguised. The Lord in mercy preserve her Majesty, against whom the mayne battery of their mallice and fury hath been layd this many yeres, giving her the grace to acknowledge from whom her former deliveraunces have come, confessing with the prophet David that the Lord is her refuge and defence in the day of trouble, and to depend still uppon his mercy and protection, that is able to carry her through all dangers both of body and sowle.

Majestie a meane to withdraw the forces of her subjects and the ayde of her Hyghnes' ports, for otherwyse there will be suche scarcity in Spayne, and his coast so annoyed, as Spayne never endured so great smart. The reason is, for that the greatest traffiques of all Phyllipe's dominions must passe to and fro by the seas, which will hardly escape intercepting."

De la Fontaine hath till this day contynued at Leith, but sent over a paquet on Wednesday last to the court, from whence Doun was the next addressed unto him, by whom his way hath been prepared. He brought letters of address and commendation both to him and others, from Manningle-ville, with many thanks for their good offices shewed in delivery of Holt, and hath speciall letters from the French King and the Duke* his master to the most part of the nobility, to entertayn them in good humour and lyking of this unhappy course. I am borne in hand by gentlemen of great credit, that he is not come without food to relieve the hunger of our courtiers, which they pretend to be well advised of, and that he hath brought a sword from the Duke his master to the King, which is confidently bruted and believed to have been hallowed by the Pope, and sent from him. It should seem that her Majestie's difficulty to consent to the publique voiage of Mauvissière, and Monsieur Pinart hath bredd the employment of this man, that under the habit and cloak of a private person things might be carryed the more secretly, and with the lesse note and jealousy. Here is likewise some expectation that Mr. W. Ballandyne, who, during his late being here, had often and private conference with the King, should returne agayne very shortley, instructed with the secret of all things, as a person specially trusted by 50 and 260,† but in the mean tyme there appears no want of others to do good offices.

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SIR F. WALSINGHAM TO LORD HUNSDON.

(Extract, Aug. 24, 1584.)

I do now send your Lordship herewith the safe conduct of

* Of Guise.

† These numbers are cyphers.

the Master of Gray,* which could not sooner be dispatched by reason of her Majestie's departure from Oatlands towards a little progresse, as by my last I wrote unto your Lordship.

It appeareth by credible advertisementes and intelligences, that the matter of Ireland was contrived in January last there in Scotland, and that James Maconell, a principall leader of the Irishe Scottes, who dependeth altogether uppon Arran, was then at the courte, which practise was now revived and presently put in execution uppon William Nugent's repayre into that realme. For which purpose Mr. Orrell received both commission and some supplie of money, howsoever, they do otherwise plead ignorance, and seem to take no knowledge of the matter.

Touching the new pretended conspiracy that your Lordship hath before written unto me is layd to the charge of these distressed noblemen here in England, they do from their hartes protest their innocency therein, and refuse no indifferent tryall to cleere themselves of the same, nor any punishment if it may be proved against them. And therefore it is a very hard and strange course, that the Erle of Arran should suffer himself to be made an instrument of such slaunderous imputations, and seeke to defame and make the noblemen odious to her Majestie and to all the world, thereby to thrust him into the charge of the castle of Edenborough, and to frustrate her Majestie reasonable request for their relief, wherin she herself is touched in honour, to be abased with such wrong informations, and therefore cannot in reason looke for any playne or sure dealing at his hands that shall devise such false and malicious plots to serve his owne turne, to the overthrowe of the innocent. For myne owne part, as one that love and honour your Lordship, I cannot but wishe that you may receive better measure at his handes then I fear me you shall, and that all that goodly outward shewe

* The Master of Gray was sent into England as ambassador from the King of Scotland.

and vehement protestation of frendship and sound meaning fall not out to be but a device to winne time to serve their owne turne.

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SIR ROBERT CECIL * TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

(Extract.)

Right honorable, although my small abode here hath bred me so slender experience, as that I knowe myself altogether unable to satisfie you as touching the pointe sett downe in your letters, yet notwithstanding am I rather cut out by following your commandement herein to bewray my ignorance, then not to obey him, whom I have vowed to serve during lyfe.

And first, as touching the King of Navarre, notwithstanding that his right to the crowne of Fraunce (the King failing of issew) is suche as is generally esteemed the next of blood, being come of the eldest brother of the howse of Bourbon, and as it were publicquely declared to the world by the King himself to be the sonne rising, by sending to him persoually after his brother's death his deare mignon Monsieur L'Espernon, yet for all that the howse of Guise (sworne enemies to him and the rest of the howse of Bourbon) especially since the death of Monsieur, hath spread divers reports against him and his title, hoping, by excluding him, the easelier to gett the crowne themselves. And because they cannot

* Sir Robert Cecil, created Earl of Salisbury by James I., in whose reign he was Lord Treasurer, was Lord Burghley's eldest son by his second wife.

On the death of the Duke of Anjou, the King of Navarre became heir apparent to the throne of France, and afterwards succeeded as the famous Henry IV. Sir Philip Sydney had been sent to Paris to condole with Henry III. on the death of his brother the Duke of Anjou.

cloake their ambitious desire with coloure of title, being straungers, and not anie waie of the blood of France, they wold fain persuaide the world that the Cardinall of Bourbon, who is the King of Navarre his father's younger brother, hath more right than he, not for anie love they beare him, but because they hope if he were Kinge, being old and simple, they might the sooner abuse him, and in the end peradventure handle him as Pipin did Childerick the third and last of the lygne of Pharamond, who became of a King a monke.

* * * * *

The nobilitie of France is generally well enough affected to the King's title, only these excepted, which are altogether Guisards.

Du Sang:—The Cardinall of Bourbon, hoping by him to be advanced. The Cardinall of Vendosme, whom the Cardinall of Bourbon hath made what he listeth in shewe, though in hart men think him better affected.

The Duke de Mercure, Governour of Britaigne; the Duke de Guise, Governour of Champaigne; the Duke of Meyne, Governour of Burgundy; the Duke D'Aumale; the Duke D'Albeuf; the Duke de Nevers, whereof he hath made very small shew since Monsieur's death; the Duke Joyeuse; the Mareshall de Raits, though, for feare of the Quene Mother, he dare not shewe to the Duke de Guise, but inwardly a sworne enemy to the Protestant Princes; the Marishall Matignon; the Marishall D'Aumont; the Marshall Joyeuse; the Cardinall of Guise; the Cardinall Joieuse; the Chancellour; besides the cities of Frawnce which be of greate strength, especially Paris and Orleans, fearing to give accompt to the King of Navarre for their massacres committed by them, are suspected to enclyne rather to the Cardinall of Bourbon, except they might be assured of liberties in religion.

And as the Guisards think their faction strong at home, so are they in hope to have divers fautors abroade, some for religion, as the Antechrist and King of Spayne, with the Emperour to

his small power; for kindred, the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duke of Baviere, whose wife is the Duke of Lorraine's sister.

And for the people of Gwyn, Gasconne, and Languedock, they are well affected to the King of Navarre, but the rest of the provinces so infected with superstition, as there is no greater hope of their loyalty.

And as the King of Navarre hath great confidence in some of the Catholique nobility, who are always accustomed to accept of their natural Prince whatsoever, if some peculiar affection have not drawn them to partiality, so is he not destitute of other friends to him either for religion or other private respects assured.

Du Sang: the Prince of Condé; the Marquis of Conty, and Conte Horsaing, though he dare make no such shew, for fear of the Cardinal; the Duke of Mompensier, friend to him in respect of blood, and not of religion; the Duke de Bovillon; the Duke d'Espèron; the Marshal Montmorency; Monsieur de Meri; Monsieur de Rohan; Monsieur de la Vall; Viconte Turenne. Of the King's private counsel, though not for religion, yet moved with the right of his cause, and misliking to live under the government of any Guisards, he is not likely to want the favour of these that followe. Monsieur la Motte Fènelon; Monsieur Bellieure; Monsieur Rambouillet; Monsieur Lenoncourt; Monsieur Maintenon; with divers others of greater houses, who for religion's sake will without all doubt joine with him, as also of many of the chiefest of the *Robe longue* in other cities, as well as here in Paris, where almost all the Presidents are thought to be that way inclined. Neither is he of foreign aid quite destitute, chiefly making accompt of her Majesty, next of the Swisshes in respect of their confederacy with the crowne of France, beside that the chiefest cantons are of the religion, as namely, Berne, Zurich, Basle, and Schaffhouse, together with the Grisons their confederates. It is likewise hoped that such Princes of Germany as be not Papists will put to their helping hand. And last of all,

though the Venetians do refraine publicly to assyst him, for feare of the Pope and the King of Spaine, yet notwithstanding it is thought they will be content underhand to help him with money, if not for love for him or his cawse, yet will thinke themselves in farre greater suretie to have a King of Frawnce their frend unlikely to depend on the Spaniard.

But to conclude, notwithstanding what oppositions soever, having right on his syde, no doubt God will increase the number of his frends, and tread downe his enemies which imagine deceit agaynst hym, if, together with David, he crye to the Lord in his tyme of trouble.

Thus having bene bold in following your direction by your letters, to arrive at that wherein I was truly unable to satisfie your expectation according to my desire, I will also be bold to entreat and beseech you to take in good part these unripe gathered fruites of my two monthes' travell.

From Paris, this 28th of September, *stilo novo*, 1584.

Your Honor's humble to command,

ROBERT CECILL.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Dyariam.

Upon Michaelmas even, the Lord Maior, aldermen, and commons, admitted the new Shereffs unto their offices and swore them, at which tyme they appoynted Mr. Bland his sonne the Quene's skinner to be their under-shereff of Middlesex, who was there sworne also.

Upon Michaelmas daie, the aforesayd assemblie met again, and did choose a new Lord Maior, who was Mr. Thomas Pulison, alderman, at which tyme he stood up and gave the commons great thanks, disabling himself, as the order is, and after hym the old Lord Maior stood up and gave them his thanks in lyke manner, &c. At after-diner the new Shereffs received the charge of the four prison houses from the old by indenture.

In crastino Michaelis, my Lord, the Aldermen, and many of the liveries went to the Exchequer, with the new Sheriffs, viz. Layne and Billingsley, where I did present them in the name of the whole citie, who there were admitted by Maister Baron Sotherton; the court being full of officers. There we did such services as appertayned, viz. in bringing a number of great horse-shoes and nailes, chopping-knives, and little roddes. After this is the Maior of Oxford sworne, and is yerelie invited to dyner with the elder Shereff, and at the same tyme are invited all the officers to dyner.

Thursdaie, the next daie after, we kept the generall sessions at Westminster Hall for Middlesex. Surelie it was verie great! We satt the whole daie and the next after also, at Fynsburie. At this sessions, one Cople and one Baldwin,* my Lord of Shrowsburie's gent. required me that they might be suffered to indict one Walmesley of Islyngton, an Inn-holder, for scandilation of my Lord their master. They shewed me two papers. The first was under the clerk of the counsel's hand of my Lord's purgation, in the which your good Lordship's speeches are specially set downe. The second paper was the examinations of divers witnesses taken by Mr. Harris; the effect of all which was, that Walmesley should tell his gests openlie at the table, that the Erle of Shrowsbury had gotten the Scottish Quene with child, and that he knew where the child was christened, and it was alledged that he should further adde, that my Lord should never go home agayne, with lyke wordes, &c. An inditement was drawne by the clerk of the peace, the which I thought not good to have published, or¹ that the evidence should be given openlie, and therefore I caused the jurie to go to a chamber, where I was, and heard the evidence given, amongst whom one Merideth Hammer, a doctor of divinitie and vicar of Islyngton, was a witnes, who had delt as lewdlie

* Thomas Baldwin, many of whose letters to his master are given in Lodge.

¹ Before, ere.

towardes my Lord in speeches as dyd the other, viz. Walmeslye. This doctor regardeth not an oathe. Surelie he is a verie bad man ; but in the end the inditement was indorsed *Billa vera*.

At this sessions, one Hawtrie Smith, two of the Halls, and one mo, committed in their rage of drinke, at Brainford, a verie great riott, using most lewd wordes and threatening to Mr. Halley, being a justice, and because your Lordship had latelie writt that we should not deale with the Quene's men, I did therefore staie the complaynt, and caused the Brainford men and also Mr. Halley to put their dolianses in writing, and to sett Mr. Halley his hand to the same, the which I have sent unto Mr. Vizchamberlayn, because the offenders are of the gard.

At this sessions fell out a contention. The matter was this: Mr. Levetenant come to my howse over night, and desired me that he might give the charge at the sessions the next mornynge. I agreed, and gave hym great thankes, and immediately after came in Justice Smithe, and he required the lyke, and I with the lyke thankes yielded. These two'gents went merilie home, the one not knowing of the other's intention. Both of them forsook their suppers, betook themselves to their studies, and spent neere hand the whole night in traveling of the charge. The next day the levetenant made offer to give it. "Stay," saith Mr. Smithe, "for I am provided." "And so am I," said the levetenant. I was with Mr. Levetenant, and all the rest with Mr. Smith, and therefore he gave the charge. At dyner, Mr. Levetenant wold nedes have Mr. Smithe to sitt uppermost at the table's end, because he gave the charge, and to end that strife I caused Mr. Deane to take that place, as the fittest person for it. And thus your Lordship may see that in all our troublesome busines we make ourselves as merie as we may.

Upon Saturday, at Bridwell we had a minister's wife of Cardicanshire. She confessed that she was greatlie sought unto by yonge women, maide servaunts she meant, when

they were gotten with childe. She confessed that she gave them saven, &c. One Higham, an old fellow, who is bothe excommunicate for putting away his wife, and also for such other lyke parts, he hath this yere gotten thre of his lawndres' maides with child in the Flete, being there a prisoner. He stowteth out the matter with us, and will not fynd the children, but writeth lewd letters unto us, &c.

Upon Monday, at the sessions of gaole delivery, we had two hundred there at the least. Most of them were pilferers. We had no matters of any importance, saving that one of Mr. Docwraye's sonnes, of Chamber-howse, in Barkshire, was arraigned for stealing of a portmanteo, with 84*l.* in the same, taken out of an inne in Bardey, but he was acquitted therof.

There are three notable thieves reprieved, one called Grene, the second Salisburie, the third is one Dudley. The two first are noted to be of the companie of them that robbed Mr. Cofferer, and for that cause they are to be staid to be further examined by warrant from my Lord Chamberlain. Our gaole deliverie continued three daies.

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

(Dyarium a 22 Nov. usque ad 29.)

23. First, there appeared in the parliament-house the knights and burgeses, owt of all order, in troops, standing upon the floore making strange noises; there being not past seven or eight of the old Parliaments. After this we were all called into the Whitehall, and there called by name before my Lord Steward and the rest of the counsell. And after that we were sworne, whereby we lost the oration made by my Lord Chancellor; and after that Mr. Treasurer moved the howse to make an election of a Speaker, whereupon he hymself named my brother Puckeringe, who sate nexte me, and there was not one word spoken. And then I said to my com-

panions about me, "Crie, Puckering!" and then they and I begynning, the rest dyd the same. And then Mr. Speaker made his excuse, standing still in his place, and that done, Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Controller, being by me called upon, sitting neere, they rose and sett hym to hys place, where indeed they should have sett hym eyther before his speeche, or els at the begynning, and his speeche should have been before the cheare.

And that done, we all departed untill Thursday, that the Speaker was presented. And after his allowances and returne into the court, a bill was read for order sake, touching the due observation of the Sondaies, &c.

The next daye, being Fridaie, the said bill was once agayne read, and committed. The committees amounted in number to sixtie at the least, all yonge gent. And at our meeting in the afternoone, twenti at ones did speake, and there we sate talking, and dyd nothyng untill night, so that Mr. Chancellor was wearie, and then we departed home.

Upon Satterdaye there were two other bills read, which were devised by my Lord Chieff Baron, one for trialls, another for demurrers, and a third as touching recusaunts. After this, Mr. Chancellor used a speeche for the space of one houre and more. Mr. Chancellor's speeche tended to a generalitie, concluding upon the safetie of her Majestie. Mr. Vizcha. followed, and his speeche was above two houres: his speeche tended to particularities, and speciall actions, and concluded upon the Quene's Highnes' savetie. Before this tyme I never heard in Parliament the lyke matters uttered, and especially the thinges containd in the latter speeche. They were *magnalia regni*. After this done, committees for this cause were appointed.

But for what chaunced, a lewd fellowe called Robenson, free of the skynners, and borne in Stawnforth, satt in the Parliament House all the whole daie, and heard what was said. He was searched, and nothing found abowt hym. Mr. Wylcks, Mr. Topclyff, Mr. Beale, and I, were sent to

searche his lodging, but we found nothing. He is in the serjeant's custodie. We have made as yet no report.

This morning I have examined Coffen of the gard, and he hath made confession, the which I do leave with Mr. Cofferer.

(Nov. 29, 1584.)

W. FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHEY.

Right Honorable and my verie good Lord, uppon Thursdaye laste, being the *crastinum* of Trinitie Terme, we kept a sessions of inquirie in London in the forenoone, and in the afternoone we kept the lyke at Fynsburie for Middlesex, in which two severall sessioneses all such as were to be arraigned for felonie at the gaole delyvery were indycted.

Uppon Fryday laste, we sate at the Justyce Hall at Newgate, from seven in the morninge untill seven at night, where were condempned certain hors-stealers, cutpurses, and such lyke, to the number of ten, wherof nine were executed, and the tenth stayed by a meanes from the courte. These were executed on Saturdaye in the morning. There was a shoemaker also condempned for wyllfull murder commytted in the Blackefryars, who was executed uppon the Mondaie in the morning.

The same daie my Lord Maior being absente abowte the goods of the Spanyards, and also all my Lords the justices of the benches being also awaye, we fewe that were there did spend the same daie abowte the searching owt of sundry that were receptors of felòns, where we found a greate many as well in London, Westminster, Sowthwarke, as in all other places abowte the same. Amongst our travells this one matter tumbled owt by the way, that one Wotton, a gentilman borne, and sometyme a marehaut man of good credyt, who falling by tyme into decay, kepte an alehowse

at Smart's Keye, neere Byllingsgate, and after for some mysdemeanor being put downe, he reared up a new trade of lyfe, and in the same howse he procured all the cuttpurses abowte this cittie to repaire to his same howse. There was a scholehowse sett up to learne young boyes to cutt purses. There were hung up two devyses, the one was a pocket, the other was a purse. The pocket had in it certain cownters, and was hung about with hawkes' bells, and over the top did hang a little sacring bell; and he that could take out a cownter without any noyse was allowed to be a publike foyster, and he that could take a piece of sylver out of the purse, without the noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged a judiciall nypper. Nota, that a foyster is a pickpokett, and a nypper is termed a pickpurse, or a cutpurse. And as concerning this matter, I will sett downe no more in this place, but refer your Lordship to the paper herein enclosed.

✓ Saturdaie and Sondaie being past, uppon Mondaie my Lord Maior, my Lord Buckhurste, the Master of the Rolles, my Lord Anderson, Mr. Sackford, Master of the Requestes, Sir Rowland Hayward, myselfe, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Yonge, with the assistance of Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor, did arraigne one Awfeild, Webley, and Crabbe, for spersing abroad certain lewd, seditious, and traytorous bookes. Awfeild did most trayterously mayntayne the booke, with long, tedious, and frivolous wordes and speeches. Webley did affirme as much as Awfeild had uttered. They are both executed, through God's goodnes, and your Lordship's good helpe, as Mr. Younge told me. There came a letter to reprieve Awfeild, it was not well dygested of as many as knew of it, but after all was well taken. When he was executed, his body was brought into St. Pulcheres to be buryed, but the parishioners would not suffer a traytor's corpes to be layd in the earthe where their parents, wyfes, chyl dren, kynred, maisters, and old neighbors did rest; and so his carcase was returned to the buryall grounde neere Tyborne, and there I leave it. Crabbe surely did renounce the Pope,

and my Lords and the rest of the benche moved Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor to be a meane to her Majestie for him, and for that cause he was stayed.

Trewely, my Lord, it is nothing needefull to wryte for the staye of any to be reprieved, for there is not any in our commission of London and Middlesex, but we are desirous to save or stay any poor wretche, if by color of any lawe or reason we maye do it. My singular good Lord, my Lord William of Winchester was wonte to say, "When the courte is furthest from London, then is there the best justice done in all England." I once heard as great a personage in office and authority, as ever he was, and yet living, say the same wordes. It is growen for a trade nowe in the courte to make meanes for reprieves; twentie pounds for a reprieve is nothing, although it be but for bare ten daies. I see it will not be holpen, unles one honoured gentilman, who many tymes is abused by wrong information, (and surelie, uppon my sowle, not uppon any evill meaning,) do staye his penne. I have not one letter for the stay of a theife from your Lordship.

Fearing that I trouble your Lordship with my tedious letters, I end. This 7th of Julie, 1585.

Your good Lordship's moste humbly bownden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

At the ending of this letter I received another, the which I will aunswer owt of hand.

Upon Tewesdaie I sat in jugement in the hustings, where Mr. Cure and his corporate bretherne, the Sadlers, recovered 40*l.* land in a writ of right *l'on le mise fint joyne sur le mere droit* against one Beale.

Upon Weddenday we sat in Southwark about the Seweres, where my cosen Holcroft accused, and *de repetundis*, &c.

ARCHANA.

There was one that is called Mr. Abarrowe, that was at the taking of the Erle of Arundell, and had gotten into his hands of his neare abowt 300*l.* in gold. He was commanded to bring the same to the Lordes of the Starre Chamber. His man carried it after hym even to the Starre Chamber doore, and sodenly his man started away, and took a boate, past into Sowthwarke, devided the money, and there by my warrant was taken, and in effect all the money was had agayne. Mr. Abarrow, his master, was the loathest man in England to have his man touched for this offence. I caused him to be indicted and arraigned. My Lord Anderson took it to be no felony, because his master delyvered him the money. I sayd it was felony by the common lawe, because the custodie and bearing of the money in his master's presence was adjudged to be as if it had bene in his master's own custodie; as if my butler, my horse-keeper, my sheperd, or the yoman of my warderobe do steale and imbessell anything in his charge, this is felony, and even so is it of my purse-bearer. And if it were not felony by the common lawe, then was it by the statute, if the sum were above 40*s.* But I, fearing the matter might be called before my Lords, being a thing so notoriously knowen, I caused the jurie to find the speciall matter, and so it resteth. I do learne sithens, that the fellow had bene in tymes past servant to Mr. Smith the clerk of the pype, &c.

The Names of a number of Maisterles-men and Cut-purses, whose practice is to robbe Gentelmen's chambers and Artificers' shoppes in and about London.

Imprimis, John Blewate, a lockesmith, Thomas Byrche, William Jackson, George Jones, Thomas Croe, a barber, Thomas Hychins, alias Mekins, John Middleton, John Cooke, Staring Robyn, William Sayger, Richard Doe, ——— Nele, John Baker, William Holden, Thomas Moore, John

Moorcrofte, ——— Turfelt, George Sayterre, William Spooner, John Powlter, John Watts, Roger Raynsford, alias Radford, ——— Trustonne, William Coole, ——— Johnson, Henrie Howell, William Etheridge, John Leryman, Welche Dycke, John Syson, Richard Syson, John Berry, alias Blythe, Robert Leveret, William Crosse, Nicholas Skeeres, ——— Barbor, Symond Askew, William Sherman, Thomas Howse, Frauncis Holloway, William Hardinge, Wilfrid Hallowes, Nicholas Jones, alias Waker, Thomas Huse. 45.

*Harboring-houses for Maisterles-men, and for such as lyve by thefte and other such like shifts, viz.**

LONDON.

Richard Waterwarde, at the Fawcon in Grace-streete; Woot-

* This, and other of Fletewood's letters, afford us a curious picture of London in the sixteenth century. To his account of the lurking houses of masterless-men and rogues, we may join the following list of houses which served for harbour to recusants and papists, and others disaffected to this government. (*MS. Harl. 360, 20.*)—

Advertisements given to Alderman Martin, touching houses suspected.

Sir, As it is the dutie of all good subjects to give advertisement of all suche matters as may tend to the furtherance of her Majestie's service, so I, being moved in conscience, have thought good to set downe and deliver to your worship a note of suche places as in my judgment are very suspicious for the harbouring of papistes, whereby I doubt lest they should at this present harbour any of those that have pretended evill to her Majestie.

These be the places :

First, One great howse in or adjoyning to the Blackfreres, wherein Mr. Blackwell, the towne clerke, sometye dwelt. Nowe there dwel-
leth in it one that is a very incomformable man to her Majestie's proceedings. It hath sundry back-dores and bye-wayses, and many secret vaults and corners. It hath bene in tyme past suspected, and searched for papists but no good done for want of good knowledge of the back-dores and bye-wayses, and of the dark corners. I thynke it were better a convenient serche of it were made in the morning, or daytyme, then in the night, because of the dark corners, leaving the consideration thereof to your Worship's better discretion.

ton's howse, at Smart's Keye; the Gooune,¹ at Byllyngate; the Crowne, at Byshopsgate; Maydenheade, by the Tower Dytche; the Harrowe, at Bedlem; the Rose, at Flete-brydge.

WESTMINSTER.

The Styll, in the Sayntuarie; the Beare and Ragged Stafe, at Charing Crosse; the Redd Legge, in the Pallace; the White Horse, in Tuttell Strete; the White Lyon, in the Sayntuarie; one Auncient, by the Abbey of Westminster.

MIDDLESEX.

Baker's howse, in Turnmyll Strete; the Blacke Lyon, in Shorditche; Muggleston's howse, in the Whitechaple.

Secondly, There is a house by my garden, within the manner of Paris Garden, wherein one Tarlton dwelleth, a place of great suspicion, and about three years since, when the plague was in the Marshalsea, the papiste prisoners there gott libertie of the keeper of the prison, and lodged in this house, having suspicious resort unto them: and continually from that time hitherto, by being often at my garden there, I have seen suche resort thither as hath bene very suspicious. It hathe fore-dores one waye, and back-dores another waie towarde St. George's fields, and having bene sundry tymes serched, for want of due knowledge of the back-dores, no good hathe bene done; for the fore-dores are no sooner knocked at, but any within may passe out at the back-dores. Whereof it may please your Worshippe to have due consideration.

Thyrdely, there be two houses, joyning uppon Tuthill fields, by Westminster, with fore dores one waie and back dores another waye, wherein papistes have bene usually lodged, being very suspicious houses by meanes of the situation of the places, having passages forward and backward, whereof it may please you to consider.

There is one Bosgrave, a suspicious person lyving, of the papists, having no dwelling house, but dailie seene in Paule's, and very familiar amongst the crew of papistes, whose brother was condemned with Campion, and yet sent over agayne. I take him for a very dangerous person, so as if your Worship think good, I take him to be a meete man to be examined in any matter touching papists, that may be for her Majestie's service.

RICHARD FRITH.

¹ Gun.

SURREY.

Pressinge Yron, in Sowthwarke ; the Rose, at Newington Butts.

Memorandum.—That in Wootton's howse, at Smart's Keye, are wrytten in a table divers poyses, and amongst the rest one is thus :

Si spie, sporte ; si non spie, tunc steale.

Another is thus :

Si spie, si non spie, foyste, nyppe, lyfte, shave, and spare not.

Note, that *foyste* is to cutt a pockett, *nyppe* is to cut a purse, *lyfte* is to robbe a shoppe, or a gentilman's chamber, *shave* is to fylche a cloake, a sword, or a sylver spoone, or such lyke, that is negligentie looked unto. *Note*, that *myl-kyn ken* is to comytt a robberie or burghlarie, in the night, in a dwelling howse, etc.*

* The number of tracts on the manners and practices of the rogues and vagabonds of the time, who formed a peculiarly distinct class, published during the reign of Elizabeth, and those of her immediate successors, is truly surprising, and they appear under the most grotesque titles. According to these books, the rogues in London, which was their head-quarters, formed a regular society, the numbers of which were divided into numerous grades, according to their different occupations as thieves, pickpockets, beggars, &c. In the British Museum are preserved several of these tracts, bound up into a volume together. In them we find many specimens of the *slang* of the day, resembling what is here given by Recorder Fletewood. Thus we have *to nip a bung* and *to nip a jan*, identical phrases signifying to cut a purse. So *foyst* is to pick a pocket, and a *lift* occurs in the sense of a house or a shop breaker. The words of the strange jargon are much less arbitrary than we might be led to suppose, and are many of them very old. To *lift*, and a *lift*, are the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon *hlifan*, to steal, Gothic *hliftus*, a thief, (the Greek *κλέπτειν* and *κλέπτης*), and are still preserved in the term *shop-lifter*. In one of the lists of slang words in the tracts just mentioned, we have *pad*, a way, and *padder*, a highwayman, a purse taker on the high road ; up to a very late period highwayman were called *pads*, and in Yorkshire, they call a certain hobgoblin, which is believed to haunt the highways, a *pad-foote*. *Ken* is still a slang word for a house.

MR. WOTTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

The last of July the States of Scotland assembled in St. Andrews, to whom the King opened the matter of the league,* to which, by a public instrument, they subscribed, which the Secretary† shewed him after.

They expect here, at Mr. Myll's returne, some good resolution from her Majestie, concerning as well the matter he had in charge, as what she will have done with 19, (Arran)‡ who is and shall still remayn prisoner here, untill her Majestie's further direction. But to send him prisoner to England, this King is unwilling for many reasons, but willing that he make his purgation to the Quene, which offer he adviseth to be accepted.

1st August, the Bishop of St. Andrewe's preached before the King, commended much the intended league, signified a fast to be kept two dayes publick, in respect of the pestilence then generally raging, and the dangers wherof the island is in by the devilysh practises of Seaton and his instruments abroad. Though the proviso in the end of the publick instrument seemeth to intend the league defensive and offensive uppon the poynt of religion only, yet it is meant by the King and his counsell to reach against all invaders of either prince's dominions, according to the articles sent out of England, uppon what ground soever the quarrel be. It was so doubtfully framed, the easier to induce the States then assembled

* The league with England.

† Maitland.

‡ The Earl of Arran, so famous, or rather so infamous, by his corruption, debauchery, and tyranny, was James Stuart, second son of Lord Ochiltree. He was a great favourite with the King, and had chiefly brought about the fall and execution of Morton. He was suspected and accused of having incited the borders to the fray in which, this year, Sir Francis Russell, son and heir of the Earl of Bedford, was slain, and the Earl received a wound which caused his death the next day, and on this account to appease Elizabeth, he was committed to prison.

to grant a power to the King and such commissioners as he should appoint to conclude a league. He hath stayed any further proposing the article about granting the King a Duchy in England. But they all think it most reason that her Majestie promise not to do any thing to the prejudice of the King's title, and the rather because the Master of Grays affirmith, that at his being in England the Quene protested as much to him. At the closing up of this letter, 39 came unto him, and affirmed the King much perplexed between the love he beareth 19 (Arran) and the promise to the Quene to detayn him still prisoner.

Aug. 2, 1585.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Your Lordship by the inclosed shall perceyve howe headlong things run in Scotelande, and therefore howe necessarie it were that an embassaye with countenance should be presently sent into that realme, as also well furnyshed with meanes to stoppe the intended course, wherin there is already such an entry made as I see just cause to think that by my employment alone wyll not be repayed.

For if I cannot be there at the tyme desyred, being the 15th of this present, it were to good purpose that her Majestie dyd wryte a letter out of hande unto that King, and to acquaynt hym with her intent of sending of me; and in the meantyme to require him, as he tendereth her contynuanee of frendship, to staye all further proceeding in his intended alterations. This courage in the King sithence Fentrye's arrivall groweth not without good assurance of backing, and wyll not be helped without a rounder and more resolute kynde of dealing, then hitherto hath bene taken for the conservation of the amity of that realme. It shall be necessary also to give severall present dyrections unto Mr. Bowes, for the advyce that is demaunded by Marre and his associates,

touching that act done at Ruthen. And so leaving further to trouble your Lordship, I most humble take my leave. At Barne Elmes, the 6th of this present August, 1583.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

For that Mr. Sommers fyndeth himself unapt for the service, (for the reasons containd in his letter,) I thinke no other wyll be found more apt for the place then this bearer, my brother Beale, if her Majestie shall allow thereof.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE KING OF SCOTS.

Among your many studies, my dear brother and cousin, I would Isocrates' noble lesson were not forgotten, that wills the Emperor, his sovaigne, to make his words of more account than other men do their oathes, as meetest ensignes to shewe the truest badge of a prince's arms. It moveth me much to move you, when I behold how diversly sundry wicked spirits distract your minde, and bend your course to wicked pathes, and like all evil illusions, wrapped under the cloak of your best safetie, endanger your state and best good. How may it be, that you can suppose an honorable aunswer may be made me, when all your doings gainsay your former vows? You deal not with one whose experience can take drosse for good payment, or one that easily will be beguiled; no, no, I mind to set to school your craftiest counsellors. I am sorry to see you bent to wrong yourself, in thynking to wrong others; yea, those which, if they had not even then taken opportunity to let a ruin, that was newly begun, that plot would have perilled you more than a thousand of such men's lives be worth, that persuade you to avouch such deedes, to desere a faultless pardon. Why do you forget what you wrote to myself, with your own hand, shewing how dangerous a course the Duke was entered in, though you ex-

cused himself to think no harm therein? And yet they that with your safetie preserved you from it, you must now seem to give them reproach of guilty folk. I hope you more esteem your honor than to give it such a staine, since you have protested so often to have taken these Lords for your most affectionate subjects, and to have done all for your best.* To conclude, I beseech you passe no further in this cause till you receive an expresse messenger, a trusty servant of mine, from me, by whom I mean to deal like an affectionate sister with you, as of whom you shall see plainly you may receive honor and contentment, with more surety to yourself and state, than all these dissembling counsellors will or can bring you; as knoweth the Lord, to whose most safe keeping I do commyt you, with my many commendations to your person. Your most assured and faithfulest sister and cousin,

E. R.

(Aug. 1583.)†

SIR AMIAS POULET‡ TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I am growen so thrifty, that to save a little paper, I do not sticke, insteade of a just letter, to trouble

* “ He imprisoned certain Lords, that preserved his life from peril, and bereaved some of them of their lives, being his most affectionate subjects; therefore she desireth him to pass no further in that cause, till she sent a messenger unto him with an embassy. This trusty messenger was Mr. Secretary Walsingham.”—*Marginal note in the Original MS.*

† The letter appears to be the one recommended by Walsingham in the preceding. These two letters, as the date will show, have been misplaced by an oversight.

‡ Sir Amias Poulet, or Paulet, was born at Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire, and was grandson of the Sir Amias Poulet, who put Cardinal Wolsey, then but a schoolmaster, in the stocks. Sir Amias was a man of great credit for his honesty and faithfulness, and was entrusted in the present year, after the Earl of Shrewsbury had resigned the charge, with the custody of Mary Queen of Scots. At a later period, when on an embassy in France, and a chain of gold been

your Lordship with a copy of my letters to Mr. Secretary, as foloweth:

Sir, I have receaved your letters of the third of this present, and am right hartely sorry for the losse of that good Earle, and his sonne,* partly for the particular interest I had in them both, but especially in respect of our Quene and countrey, who, in these dayes of treachery and treason against God and his anointed, cannot be deprived of the faithfull service of two such personages, without singular damage.

Whereas you write this Quene† hath desired, that for the cleansing and sweetening of this house, she might remove to some other place for some short tyme, it is most certain that there is no house in these partes either sufficient or commodious for her and her trayne, or assured for the governour. The Lord Paget hath only two houses in this countrey, the one at Burton, distant from this castle three myles, a ruinous howse, the buildings scattered and adjoyning to a very poore town, full of badd neighbours, the other at Baudesert, distant seven myles, a howse of no strength, the buildings not finyshed; and both these houses naked, and utterly unfurnished of all things belonging to household, so as the furniture of this remove must come altogether from this castle, which will be a matter of excessive charge and trouble, and almost impossible to be performed, this charge being such as the companye may not be divided one daye and night without perill. If she should be removed for some short tyme, it is of necessity, in my simple opinion, that it must be to some house furnished already, of which sort I knowe of no other then Mr. Candishe's house,‡ which being insuffi-

presented to him by the French king, he is said to have received it with reluctance, declaring that "he would wear no chains but his Mistress's."

* The Earl of Bedford, and his son Francis, slain by the Scotch borderers.

† Mary Queen of Scots.

‡ Cavendish.

ciently furnished to receave this company, considering the newness of this castle, the defects might be supplied from hence. But to say nothing of the weaknes of the house, it is not capable of the Scottishe trayne alone, and yet they must lodge divided in many pieces. Mr. Candishe hath builded a little dyning-chamber, and a chamber or two adjoyning; all the residue of the house is old and ruinous, the kitchen and other houses of office being far lesse then sufficient to serve both those houtholds. One thinge I may add, that this countrey is so ill affected, (a thinge not unknowen unto you,) as I thinke no man of judgement would willingly take the charge of this Quene in any house in this sheere out of this castle.

No doubt this Quene was in some hope to be removed to Mr. Candishe's house, as I have heretofore written unto you, which was the cause and ground of this motion. But finding in conference with me, sythens the dispatch of her last packet, that the house was not any way fit for her use, and promising to provide carpenters, and other artificers, to repayre her lodgings in such sort as should be devised by her ministers, Nau being present sayd, that I could say no more, so as, urging the matter of their remove no further, it seemed to me they were satisfied. Notwithstanding, following your directions, and to the end this Quene might knowe her Majestie's favour towards her, I have given her to understand that her Highnes is well pleased that she be removed, so as any fit house might be found; and hereupon I told her I knowe only three vacant houses in these parts, viz. Mr. Candishe's house, and the Lord Pagett's two houses at Burton and Beaudesert, and have delivered unto her my opinion touching the sayd houses, which is, that Mr. Candishe's house is less then sufficient to receave her owne trayne; that the house at Burton standeth so neare the river as it will not stand with her health to remove thither; that it is so ruinous as it will not be repayred in short tyme; that it is unfurnished of all implements belonging to household; and

is also too little to receave this great company. That the house at Beaudesert is not yet finished, and so unfurnished as it hath not so much as one stoole or bedstead in it, and that considering the far distance from hence, there is no possibility to remove all the stuffe of this house thither in convenient tyme. I have added to these foresayd reasons, that the weather hath bene suche of long tyme, as there is litle signe of summer, and that when all diligence shal be used, before this remove shall be performed, and that beere, wyne, wood, coals, and such necessaryes shall be provided, winter will be in its full strength. I sayd that Mr. Candishe's house was already well knowen to her principall ministers, who could judge if I sayd trewely or no, and the house at Burton might be sene by any of her servants, when she would. She replyed very little, only that the Earle of Shrewsburye removed his stuffe from one house to another; and that if the house were too little, some of her companye might be lodged in the towne. I aunswered, that the Earle perchaunce removed some of his best stuffe, but was not troubled with his kitchen stuffe, bedstedes, table-boards, and such like; and that it was very inconvenient that her trayne should be lodged farr from her. I prayed her to consider of it, which she sayd she would do; so as I thinke I shall heare little more of this matter. If any newe motion shal be made herin by the Frenche ambassador, it may please you to take no knowledge of that which hath passed betwene this Quene and me, untill I shall receave her resolution.

I have receaved the three packets for this Quene, and have perused them with her good liking, because having passed over the first packett, I sent it immediately unto her, and so one after the other, untill all be delivered, which pleaseth her greatly. The French ambassador, in his letters to this Quene, chaungeth not his stile touching Archibald Douglas, saving that he adviseth her, considering his departure, to appoint the sayd Archibald to followe her causes about that court. All other things mentioned in the sayd packetts, and

seeming worthy to be observed, are containd in this paper inclosed. It may be, and it is very likely, that I advertise many needeles things, wherin I crave pardon, because I do not knowe what you knowe already, but of this I am sure, I have omitted nothing that may concerne the Quene or countrey, and have used such expedition therin, as I am deceived if this Quene thinks anything lesse then that I have taken any extracts of her letters. It is likely that her Majestie will conferr with my Lord Treasurer touching this remove, and therefore I have thought good to advertise his Lordship of all my proceedings herin with this Quene, and of my simple opinion of the vacant houses in these parts. And thus I committ you to the Almighty, who prosper all your actions to his glory, etc.

And thus I leave to trouble your Lordship any further, resting alwayes at your commandement, and so do committ your good Lordship to the mercy of the highest. From Tutburye, the 8th of August, 1585.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

A. POULET.

A. TO G.*

Since the directing of my last unto you of the date of the seventeenth of Auguste, I have been divers times at courte, and have assayed by such small credit as I have, to qualify some of these hard apprehensions conceaved of our soveraigne's procedings. I perceave my travell cannot prevayle; neither see I how this matter can be well helped, unles some matter in actions may be performed, wherby this inconstant dealing (so termed by those of the councell) may be removed. Her Majestie doth utter speeches, that she would never have believed that the King or any of his wise councell would have so far overseen themselves as to write one day

* "A letter written in white ink, from A. to G. the 21st of August, 1585."

to her such and such matters should be performed, and on the next day thereafter, not abiding her answer, would then overthrowe the same, so manifest a mockery, that no gentleman of reputation would have used the like to his inferiour or servant ; and as her Majestie and counsailours are grieved at the manner of proceedings, so is there a number of gentlemen, frendes to the trespassed, wounded in minde for the slaughter of the gentelman of so greate expectation, whereuppon there is occasion taken by unfrendes to aggravate this matter in such manner, that hardly can any man or assured frend be found who will help this matter. I feare it shal be so unpleasant to her Majestie, that I will not presume to open any parte of it. These banished Lordes are like not onely to finde the assistance and favour of all persons grieved, but also to procure greater liberty, which unto this time had beene straight by th'only means of Sir Francis Walsingham ; the remanent counsailors for the most parte being absent from courte.

My Lord of Leicester is not yet returned, but by letters which I have seene from his Lordship, he heavily lamented the manner of these procedings, specially because of the good appearaunce that might have ensued, if matters had beene right followed out.

As I writ unto you before that Andwerp was rendered, so it is now confirmed. The forme of the appointment shall be sent unto you by the next.

Her Majestie had receaved the countrey of Holland and Zeland, given unto her by the estates therof, and hath sent 9000 men for receaving possession of such townes as should be delivered into her keeping. These two provinces being the places in Christianity most abundant in shippes, being joyned to those in this countrey, are thought able not only to defend themselves against all enemies that would invade them of both, but also to stopp any other nation but such as they please to approve in any parte of this island or her Majestie's dominions. Thereuppon they have founded the

first surety of this estate, and are not much like to seeke the ayde of any forein prince for establishing of their surety. I pray God her Majestie be moved to devise some good meanes, wherby her Majestie may remayne contented of his proceedings, and his Highnes recover the favour which he had universally obtayned of this flourishing nation, abounding in wealth and riches.

From France it is given out that the King altogether mislikes of these Guisards, and that there doth appeare a peace to followe betwixt the King and protestantes, wherby the former edict shall be ratified, and the last abolished. Poverty, and lack of money to sustayne these warres, is likely to produce their effectes, and that shortly. As matters falleth out, you shall have further advertisement.

* I began your letter with no small regard, because I feared some course to be in hand at this time, which of before I caused Thomas Milles under secret to open unto you, I most hartely pray you to be wise and with yourself to consider therof. The opening of it may do great harme, and keping secrett with knowledge no small good. The remedy in these matters for your particular, appears to be this: to excuse yourself by writ, and to move the King to deale by actions hereafter, and if you can be the doer yourself, you will recover reputations to both. Before this can come to your handes, the ambassador will let you to understand what is reported of you, and committ to his eares, and he will desire to knowe the verity therof of yourself. But I think he will not let you understand who is the reporter, because I could not obtayn so far commaund to be given unto him. But thus farr I cannot hide from you. The men that you suspect are the doers, which I pray you most hartely to keepe secrett, because the opening thereof wil be my utter discredite, and hurtfull to yourself. The sound of the report is this, you are the chief furtherer of Arrene's liberty, have receaved good deed

* "In white ink of the same day, and to the same person from A."

for doing thereof, is entered in dealing with the Jesuits, and dissimulation in the courses with England. The matter was very hardly taken here, and specially by her Majestie, and heavily lamented by your friends, and truly matters are entered into so hard apprehensions, that I feare this inconstant kind of dealing, imprisoning one day and relapsing at another, without her advise, shall give occasions of speech and thinking at all times hereafter that nothing shall be believed of that which shall come from that country, except it shall consist in action. And to speak the truth, it was not well done to sett Arren at liberty before returning of her Majestie's ambassador, by reason all men condemnes the King in that matter, either of inconsistency, or then that it was done for wresting with her Majestie, which is very evill taken, as will appear by her Majestie's letters to the King. I have travelled divers times that her Majesty might have used some mitigation, but I perceave my labours will not prevayle unles his Majestie make some amendment by action, so far as concerneth these banished Lordes. I perceave the whole frendes of Sir Thomas Russell not only minded to give their countenance and assistance, but her Majestie is also beginning to give eare to their petitions, and cause questions of their force at home to be demaunded. It will be dangerous to suffer that course to go forwards, by reason it can not be called back when men would. In my opinion, it should be well done to lay the perill open to his Majestie, and to lett him understand nothing can help that matter and bring him in credite and favour here, as he was before, except doing by action, and no action can be able to helpe, but the relieving of the banished Lords, or then the delivery of Arren and Ferniherst, to be used at their pleasure, or then the performing of both. I thinke reason should move his Majesty to amend these matters, before they come to further ripeness, otherwise where men would do good, matters will be unremedible, as I writt to you before: that writt was lost.

JOHN DAVIS* TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

Right Honorable, most dutifully craving pardon for this my rash boldness, I am hereby according to my duty to signify unto your Honor, that the north-west passage is a matter nothing doubtfull, but at any tyme almost to be passed, the sea navigable, voyd of yse, the ayre tollerable, and the waters very depe.† I have also found an isle of very great quantytie, not in any globe or map describ'd, yielding a sufficient trade of furs and leather. And although this passage hath bene supposed very impossible, yet, through God's mercy, I am in experience an eye wytnes to the contrary, yea, in the most desperate clymates, which, by God's help, I will very shortely most at large reveale unto your Honor, as sone as I can possibly take order for my maryners and shipping.

Thus, depending upon your Honor's good favour, I most humbly commytt you to God. This 3rd of October, (1585.)

Your Honor's for ever most dutyfull,

JOHN DAVYS.

LORD SCROPE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

It may please you, Sir, I fynde uppon the returne of my man, remembred by my last of the third, that the contents of that my last to you is true and am partlie given to under-

* John Davis, the navigator, was born at Sandridge, near Dartmouth, in Devonshire. He was very sanguine in his expectations of the discovery of a north-west passage, and first visited Davis's Straits, which have been so named after him. He was slain in an encounter with the Japanese on the 27th of December, 1605.

† The northern seas appear to be much more clear of ice some years than others, and Davis perhaps visited them in a favourable season.

stand, that after the towne of Sterlinge was wonne, these Lords* assalted the castle, and contynued skirmysh with the Lords therein from fyve hours in the morning on Tuesday last, untill eight of the clock on the same day, at which tyme the King sent out to the Lords the Justice Clerk and the Secretary, to commune with them, and to offer that himself would be well pleased to have speech and conference with any two of these four, viz. Hamylton, Bothwell, Hume, and Maxwell, utterly denying to speak with Angusse, Marr, or Glamis. But the Lords answered they would do nothing but conjointly and altogether. This parley contynued betwixt the King and the Lords, and the castell holden, untill Wenesdaye at fyve of the clocke in the afternoone, messages still going to and from the King all this tyme. At which hour it was delyvered to the Lords, and the Lords in the castell and others in the towne were taken, and yielded themselves, viz. Th'Erles of Crawford, Montrosse, Rothowse, Arrell, and Marshall, and Glencarne, Collonell Steward, Sir Robert Melyn, William Steward, Captain of Dumberton, James Steward, his brother, and the Master of Levingstone, with many other Barons and gentlemen taken in their lodgings in the towne.

* These were the banished Lords, who, taking advantage of the ill-feeling which had been created throughout Scotland by the conduct of Arran and his party, entered Scotland, and made themselves masters of Stirling and the person of the King, and immediately strengthened themselves by giving the strong holds of the kingdom to the custody of their friends. "Then," says Camden, "when they had, by their faithful obedience, cleared the King's minde of all things that were criminally and suspiciously objected against them by their adversaries, all proscriptions of all men whosoever, and for what causes soever, from the King's inauguration to that very day, were in assembly of the estates decreed to be for ever forgotten, (except those for the murder of the King's father, and also against the Archbishop of Glascow, the Bishop of Rosse, and the Bishop of Dunblane,) and with general consent of all, authority was confirmed to the King to enter into a confederacy with the Queene of England, and to assigne delegates.

In this parley it was agreed betwixte the King and the Lords, that they should have all things as they would. Whereuppon proclamation in ample forme against Arren, and such as shall make receipte of him, were graunted to be published at all markett crosses throughout that realme.

The King's Majestie is shortly to remove from Sterlinge, by reason of the great plague there.

The Captain of Dumberton, being in hand, is threatened to be executed, unles he deliver the Castell of Dumberton, and th'Erle of Arren suspected to be therein.

Thus being readie to take horse and retorne towards Carlisle, and having acquainted the full contents of your laste to the gentlemen, the reste of the commissioners, who are right glad to hear of the thankfull acceptance of their service herin at her Majestie's hands, I committ you for the present to the protection of the Almightie.

From Barwick, the 5th of November, 1585.

Your loving frend assuredly to commaund,

H. SCROPE.

SIR GEORGE CAREY* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

May it please your Lordship, I cannot but crave pardon for my hasty departure on Sunday last, and yield my humble thanks for your honorable entertaynment. The news I received from court yesterday as very freshe and not common, you shall understande, which are, that the banished Earls of Scotlande, with their confederates, entered Sterlinge towne by two a'clocke in the morning, and with the loss of ten men, tooke all the noblemen that was with the Kinge prisoners, saving the Erle of Arren, who escaped over the brige, and is thought is gone into Dunbrittan. The King is in the castle with the Master of Gray, the Secretary, and some

* The eldest son of Lord Hunsdon.

others ; what will become of him is doubtful. And so for this time I leave longer to trouble you.

From Carisbrook Castell, this 10th of November, 1585.

Your Lordship's to commaunde,

GEORGE CAREY.

I beseeche your Lordship, present the humble remembrance of my duty to bothe the ladies.

THOMAS DOYLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Right Honourable my singular good Lord, my humble dutie premised, having by many difficulties ridd myself out of the hands of the hell-hounds of Dunkirk, and arrived at Calleys, where I may boldly write unto your Honour the unlucky event of our journey, these are to advertise your Honor, that putting out from Gravelinge the 13th of October, the 14th of the same we were taken not farre from Dunkerk ; our pilot sayling off his course, bending too much southward. At the taking of us there were two men-of-warre, the one called the Lour Haane, and the other the Skeur Water, having two prises in his companie. Our ship being heavie and full freighted, both the upper and nether deck, so that we could make no fight, so that we yielded and were rifled of all our goods and apparel unto our doublets and hose, with their daggers at our throats, and brought to the common jayle, and after our being there an hour, came the under-baylife, or serjeant-major of the towne, with their poignards to our breasts, stripping us stark naked, searched us againe, and took away such money as the mariners fayled of. There we remayned from Thursdaye untill Mondaye, having nothing sayd unto us. That day we were examined before the governor, the baylif, bourghemaster, pensioner, and others, of our own estate, of her Majestie's actions in Flanders, of your Honor's coming over, and this examination signed with our hands, was two dayes after sent to the Prince of Parma at

Antwerp, whose resolution we must attend. The same day fortnight he went, he returned. After four days consultation upon the Prince's letters, we were called to the Towne Howse, and there told by the baylif the Prince had declared our goods confiscated and our bodies to be set at ransome. We demanded if he had declared us enemies; they answered, No; but we were therefore put to our ransom, because enemies goods were found in our ship, namely, the Earl of Oxford's, which they proved by letters of my Lord Treasurer's to him, wherein he wrote of her Majestie's grante of the commanding of horsemen, which letter one of the Earl of Oxford's chamber brought over in our boate, with his monie, apparel, wine, and venison, etc. Then were we severally put to our ransom, and rated at their plesures, merchants, mariners, ship, and all. My ransom, with my charges in prison, was 500 guilders, which, by the means of one Mr. Hudson and Mr. Beal, merchants, I dischargd. Mr. Stephens was exempted from this putting to ransom, because by the letters he had, they pretended him to be an agent of matters of estate, and an especiall instrument in matters of Flushing, and sett him downe articles, wherunto they comaunded him to answer peremptoriely, uppon payne of the torture, the coppie wherof, with his answer to them, he hath sent to Mr. Secretarie. The answer to the articles is sent to the Prince, so that I dout his will be a longe and difficult matter. I escaped well, because they found nothing in my chest but physick and astronomy books, all letters and notes for your Honor's busines I drowned out of a porthole, when they entered the ship, which Mr. Stephens could by no means do, his trunk being overwhelmed with sondrie packs.

There came awaie in my companie two merchants, and your servant John Potter, for whose ransom I have given my worde. We left behinde us some merchants, two of the Earl of Oxford's men, besides the four gentilmen which were there before us, namely, Mr. Shelton, two Traceys, and Mr.

Whithed, for whom they demaund 2000 guilders a-piece, and as yet growe no lower.

The day before our coming out of Dunkirk, there arrived an English ship laden with corne and salt, a Sandwich man, his name is Richard Durrhum, the consideration wherof I refer to your Honor. There was one Burnham, whose brother serveth Mr. Secretarie, an inhabitant of Dunkerk, banished the towne uppon suspicion of informations into England.

There remayneth in Dunkerk, Mr. Stanyhurst, the Lord of Tunsan's brother, and Mr. Copley, surnamed Lord, whose sister Mr. Stanyhurst married: also Mr Kemp, called Don Gulihelmo.

The governor is a Spaniard named Francisco d'Aguillar d'Alvarede. The garrison is two companies Spanish, and one of Muffs, both weake. The Spaniards are notably hated of the inhabitants.

The towne is verie poor and desolate, the grass growing in the streets. If the Flushingers would hinder their fishing, they should be soone starved and brought to extremitie.

The day before our coming away, they, by proclamation, called downe the value of all coines to the rate of Brabant monie, as I suppose, to allure marchants to trade with them.

Mr. Stephens humbly requesteth your Honor's assistance in the procuring his libertie. He hath wrote to Mr. Rowland York for his returne, and to St. Aldegonde to that effect, as he hath conferred with your Honor.

I knowe not what order your Honor hath taken touching your affayres since my imprisonment. I am readie as alwayes to do your Honor anie service, if your Honor please to employe me. I request agayne your letters of credit, and from the estates also; I hope to kepe them better.

I meane, God willing, presentlie to take shipping for Flushing. We durst not go from Dunkerk to Ostende, the

quarters being broken, no passport or drum would warrant us.

Thus humbly commending my dutifull service to your Honor, I wish the same felicitie in all affayres. This 12th of November, 1585. From Calleys.

Your Honor's most affectioned and dutifull servant,
THO. DOYLEY.

LORD SCROPE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

Sithence the dispatch of my laste of date yesterdaye, and sente by Henry Leigh's man, there hath come unto me a confirmation of such matters as by the said letters I did advertise, except that of the councellorshippe that still resteth in suspence. I am further given to understand, that at the surprise of the towne and castell of Strivelinge, the escape of the King was at a neare hazarde: who, before the surrender of the castell, assayed for that purpose to have corrupted William Maxwell, of Newarke, which at that presente had the chardge of a secret posterne of the castell, to whom the Lords sent and offered large sums of money to have lett him out at the said posterne, but by good foresight this devise was prevented and defeated.

It is not yet certainlie knowne what is become of Arren, but suspected that both himself and all his brethren have taken shipping for other countryes. His especial favourites in courte are all either removed of the courte, or wardes; the Colonell Steward committed to the care of Morton, and presentlie with him at Drumfreys.

The Lords continueth still at Lithquo, and hath appointed the last session of the Parliament to begin and be holden in Lithquo, the 1st of December next, wherunto it is looked that the whole nobilitie and estates shall convene and give their presence and free votes. In that Parliament, it is

intended that good order shall be had for the restitution of the lands and livings to the late forfayted Lords and others, with order for their salftie and standing hereafter, with oblivion of all matters paste, and divers other things to be then entreated and enacted for the weale and common quietnes of that realme.

The keeping of these Weste Borders are (for a tyme) committed to the charge of Morton, who hath already made his entry into that office of wardenry, and published his proclamation for redres of late disorders, and other matters which I referre to your view of the copie of the same herewith sent you, and committ you to the protection of the Almighty.

Nov. 18, 1585.

THOMAS DOYLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Right Honorable, my humble dutie premised, arriving at Vlushing the 16th, the next day the souldiors and bourgers solemnized with the great ordinance, the ensignes displayed on the towne walls, her Majestie's coronation daye. The 18th arrived Sir Phillip Sydney,* so much the welcomer because he brought a supply of monie, the wante wherof caused a general discontentment, and on Sundaye there was a reciprocall oathe taken betweene the governor and the magistrates of the towne, and Mr. Edward Norreys having resigned his provisional charge, is gone into Guilderland to his brother, being encamped before Nyewmegen, still battering the towne from a skonce gayned by force from the enemye over agaynst the towne, on the other syde of the river, being not 2000 stronge. The enemye made great provision of bridges and boats for the rescue therof, minding to have joyned his troupes with Verdugos, but the moystnes of the

* Who was made governor of Flushing, one of the cautionary towns.

weather hindered their carriages, so that he turned his forces toward Bolduc, and is passed over a branch of the Wael into Bomelswaert, a rich soyle, but the townes are too strong, as Bommel and Tyel, for him to prevayle; but he would withdrawe the General from Nyewmegen.

The enemies being on foote, caused all the townes fronter-ing upon them to stand upon their garde, especially Oestende, Sluys, Berghes-op-Zoom, Utreth, as also our small camp. The Prince hath sent to Blankenberg 3000 foot and 500 horse, for the making of a skonce there, lying between Oestende and Sluys, and it is thought he will make a haven there, for the relief of Bruges for victuals. Your Honor's coming is wonderfully wished for, and not more desired than necessarie, to establish some better order, which groweth towards a confusion, for manie new comers can better mislike then amende, and have as little skill to commaund as will to be commaunded, and everie man projecteth to his self and his estate, besydes the discontentement of the people, whom nothing can content but your Honor's presence. I am skant awake from the miserie of the prison, therefore I humbly crave pardon if I particularise not the occurrents wherein I am skant entered. So wishing to your Honor the greatest degree of felicitie, I commit the same to the protection of the Almightye.

From Vluschinge, the 23rd of November, 1585.

Your Honor's most dutifull servant,

THO. DOYLEY.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, I am sorry I could not take my leave of you before my departure, but I heard, which I am sorry for, that your Lordship's paines increased after my going from the court, and dyd lett your coming to London. But

having that opportunity taken away, I have thought it my parte to bid your Lordship farewell by these few lines, wherein I shall wyshe your Lordship present health, and many yeres to serve her Majestie, commending you for the same to the myghty protection of the Lord.

My good Lord, I may not, having this occasion, be unmyndfull of those things also, which I did think at my leave taking to have remembered to your Lordship, albeit I know the care you always have of her Majesty's good services. Your Lordship cannot but remember the cause for which it hath pleased her Majesty to send me into the Low Countreys. It was not only by your Lordship, but by the whole number of counsellors, agreed uppon, how meete and necessary it was for her Highnes to give ayde and assistance for the reliefe of those afflicted countreys, her neighbours and most auncient frends. It hath grown synce to newe termes and resolutions, as well by her Majestie's own words of comfort to them, as by contracts set downe between her and them, by her Majestie's commysioners appointed for that purpose.

I trust, my good Lord, now that I have taken this voyage uppon me, to serve her Majestie as she hath commaunded, your Lordship wyll be myndfull of me, poore man, but of the cause comytted now to my dealing cheify. Albeit I have no mystrust, but in so great absence and such a service I myght greatly rely uppon your partycular good wyll and regard of myself. But in this case I desire not respect nor regard of me, but of the cause, which I beseech you, my Lord, I may at this farewell recommend to your Lordship's wyse-dome and great care. It cannot be, but whatsoever lack shall happen to me in this service, but the want must turn to her Majestie, and as there can no good or honour fall to this action, but it must be wholly to the prayse and honor of her Majestie, so whatsoever disgrace or dishonor shall happen (growing for lacke of our good maintenance,) but it wyll redounde to her Majestie also. Her Majesty, I see, my Lord, often tymes doth fall into myslike of this cause and

sundry opinions it may breede in her Majestie withall: but I trust in the Lord, seeing her Highnes hath thus far resolved, and growen also to this far execution as she hath, and that myne and other men's poore lives and substances are adventured for her sake and by her commaundement, that she will fortifie and maintayne her own actions to the full perform-
aunce of that she hath agreed on. Thus shall there be no doubt, but assured hope of all good successe, to the glory of God, and perpetual honor of her Majesty.

My good Lord, you may conceive my meaning without more words used to you, and the rather that I desired Mr. Secretary to imparte a letter to you I wrote to him. I beseech your Lordship have this cause even to your heart, as it doth appear you have even by consenting to the adventure of your eldest sonne in this service; for this I must say to you, if her Majestie fayle us with such supplye and maintenance as shall be fyt, all she hath done hitherto will be utterly lost and cast away, and we her poore subjects no better then abjects. And good my Lord, for my last, have me only thus far in your care, that in those thinges which her Majestie and you all have agreed and confirmed for me to do, that I be not made a metamorphosys, if I shall not knowe what to do. And so the Lord have you in his keeping, preserve her Majestie for ever, and send us good successe in his service. In some hast, this 5th of December, 1585, in my way to the sea side.

By your Lordship's assured friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

My Lord, no man feeleth comfort, but they that have cause of grieve, and no men have so much neede of reliefe and comfort as those that go in these doubtful services. I pray you, my Lord, help us to be kept in comfort, for that we wyll hazard our lyfes for it.

LORD WILLOUGHBY * TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My most honorable good Lord, I was sorry when I departed that I could not for lacke of tyme better satisfy your Lordship nor myself for that small trifle of Gretam, which I valued only because it was the first gracious gift of her Majestie, and was loath that her Majestie's hand should have bene unto me in vaine. Notwithstanding, I referred the cause by my last letters to your Lordship, wholly unto you, since I understand how honorable your Lordship hath delt with me, your poore neighbour, which I acknowledge in all love and dutie, and shall be ready by all meanes I may to deserve, and as your Lordship useth not that authoritie you may in hindering my meane affaires, so your Lordship shall find me to my abilitie ready to furder your Lordship's good pleasure with all offices and services I am able, which I hope your Lordship will not regard by the smallness of my power, but by the greatnes of my good will.

Mr. Stokes, I heare, is dead. I hope your Lordship remembreth your letters of promise for Ednam parsonage, wherein it pleases your Lordship so well to conceive the reasons, as I nede not to yield you any, but give you humble and hartie thanks for the same.

I have no advertisement here worthie your Lordship: I was employed here by her Majestie to sollicit succours for the King of Navarre, either by men or money, but I have received a marvelous cold answer, which I am sure your Lordship shall be made acquainted with. They understand better *proximus sum egomet mihi*, than they have learned *humani nihil a me alienum puto*. The Germane Princes contynueth still in their depe securitie and lethargie, careles of the state of others, dreaming of their ubiquitye, and some of them, as it

* Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, was one of the bravest and most skilful soldiers of this reign, and was made commander of all the English forces in the Low Countries after the retirement of the Earl of Leicester in 1587.

is thought, inclining to be Spanish and Popish more of late than heretofore.

As better occasion shall serve, so will I not fayle to trouble your Lordship oftener with my letters. In the mean season I leave your Lordship, with my praiers to Almightye God.

From Croun-nburgh, the 15th of December.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

PEREGRINE WYLLUGHBY.

LORD CHARLES HOWARD* TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My honorable good Lord, I am wonderfully beholding unto you to that it pleaseth you to remember me your too poore friend with your letters, which I have received by sundry. Your Lordship shall be always more assured of my love and service, and with all my power to be a mean that you may be well backed.

We have here hourly advertysements out of Spayne of the great preparations the King dothe make, and it is by some of our own nation that is stolen from them. It hath given here some hot alarm, but forgotten in a day or two, after the olde manner, which your Lordship is best acquainted with. I am much afraid, and I pray God I live not to hear of England as was of Callys, that it was lost before we scant heard it was besieged, for if they prepare thus wonderfully and we hear of it and do nothing resist it, your Lordship is wyse to judge what is like to followe. But, my Lord, my case is hard, now lacking so good a friend as your Lordship to joine

* Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, was the eldest son of Lord William Howard, on whose death in 1573, he succeeded to the office of Lord High Admiral of England, and afterwards commanded the fleet against the Spanish armada. He died at an advanced age on the 14th of December, 1624.

At the time of writing this letter, the reports of the great preparations of the Spaniards began to be spread abroad.

with me ; for whatsoever I say to seeke to prevent this great mischief towards, it is very unpleasant to some, but most unto her for whom God knows I am more carefull then for myself, wyfe, and children ; but I thinke it is tolde her Majestie that war is my gayne, and therefore no marvel if I procure it. But being as it is, and our mynds of no greater courage, I wolde to God we were carefull to defend ourselves, synce we are so afraide to offend.

My Lord, my duty unto God for his cause, my faythfullnes unto her Majesty, being in the place I am in, wyll not suffer me to hold my peace. And yet I fear much it woll do no good. Your Lordship and your company hath lefte very few men of war here. I pray God, a shaddow of peace or some such things put into her Majestie's head, bredeth not us much danger. If her Majesty do prepare a navy, as of necessytie she must, I thinke we muste have help from your Lordship, both of shyppes and men, for it is one of the articles. Touching that, I think your Lordship shall hear more shortly. Touching that I did understand, and that your Lordship had understanding, that Englishemen near the coste should carry vytell over unto the enemy, some one now may do so, but it is deathe if it be found. I would to God your Lordship could advertise us of any. But, my Lord, daylie the Hollanders do, and yet they fynd means to have the States write in their behalf. For this they do : they carrie one half of their goods that is lawfull and the other prohibyted goods, thynking to save the prohibyted goods by the collour of the lawfull goods, but the law is, that having any prohibyted goods in the shyppe, all shall be forfeited, for so is the law. But our poore men that have ventured to do this servys is discouraged and almost undone, for whatsoever is taken, they are so wrangled withall as they are weary to serve any longer. And believe me, my Lord, do what you chuse, the States wyll deceive you in that, if your Lordship meet not with them on the seas. Your Lordship's letter touching the lewd be-

havyour of Churchē, it shall be duly examyned and be well punyshed.

I have declared unto the bearer, Mr. Atie, somethynge to say unto your Lordship by word of mouthe. Your Lordship shall always have me with all my goodwyll and power to stānd by your Lordship in this honourable action, and pray to God to bless you in all your doings, and take you and all your company to his protection. The Courte, the 27th (Dec. 1585.)

Your Lordship's always most assured friend,

C. HOWARD.

I am sure your Lordship doth hear ere this, how your Flushyngers hath used the Dunkerkers.

CONTENTS OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER'S LETTERS TO
LORD BURGHLEY FROM FLANDERS.

January 22, 1585. That the soldiours in garrison townes will no longer stand to the States' paiment. Wherupon followed this consequent, that the townes were all put in daunger of being surrendered, etc., and himself forced to take upon him the whole paiment, and so the absolute government, otherwise the matter could not be pacified.

That the Prince of Parma, upon his arrivall, called together the counsell and president, declared to them the views of his coming, as also of Captain Drake sent to the Indies, whereto the president aunswered, that those inconveniences followed upon the Kinge's refusing of their good counsail, which was to graunt the freedom of religion to the Low Countries, which if he had done for the time he might have resumed at pleasure, and have put down the Protestants again when he lysted.

That the Prince of Parma casteth owt rumours of peace offered by the Quene, to make a jelousie and division among the States; and that a letter was sent to that purpose from

Antwerp, which signified that the English howse was in providing for my Lord who was to come thither abowt that purpose, and that the Prince of Parma presumeth much of the humour of England that way.

That to stand only upon a defensive war will be dishonourable, and a way to undo all, for these reasons. 1. That the enemie having the field roveth and scoureth where he lyst, doing force and receiving force but where and when himself lysteth. 2. That Brabant and Flaunders have been lost by that resolution. 3. That he spoileth the countrey by continuall incursions, where the English should be relieved without resistance. 4. That the defensive only being an endless war, is a discouragement to the people, seeing no measure nor end of their taxes and contributions. 5. That the enemie is more afraid of the field, than our part is, he standing only upon the forces of his garrisons, but we having many strong townes for refuge after any losse. 6. That the fields may be got and purchased on our part with a very small charge added to that which is already.

To be means to the Quene that he may have by Easter 2,000 horse and 5,000 footmen, to meet with the skowerers that spoil the countrey.

That Villiers is a very villain, and leadeth away the Count Morrice to a reconciliation, and useth also to that purpose one Malarie that is about the young Count.

That forasmuche as my Lord North is sickly, and taketh his living there for a punishment, means may be made to the Quene, that either he may have leave to returne into England, or be there with more honour, viz. to have a place in the commission and D. Bartilimew Clark to be sent home, being there needlesse, for as much as D. W. Clark furnisheth the towne for law much better.

That the Duke of Saxonie is become a new man since his last marriage, hath sent a very plain message to the Emperour, and is agreed with divers other princes to send to the Frenche King to desist, etc., telling him that otherwise they will

stay from him all Germans aydes, and assist the King of Spaine with their forces.

That the Count of Emden is all Spanishe, the rather because his brother Count John received so small comfort in England, for which cause presently he languisheth. That it were good to reduce the two brothers by some good means.

That Hamborough is villainous and all Spanishe. If it may be, the English trafficque to be removed thence, and towards someway els, by that means to reduce or abate them.

That he hath won the States (whom he fyndeth very loving) to some new contributions.

That Paul Bruys is a very villain, a dissembler. Or-tell lykewyse to be his, and to skorne the English.

Feb. 22. That he hath proceeded already with the States to a conclusion for an armie to be levied for the field, that being the only way to relieve those countries.

That he hath provided for that purpose for the water, 40 good ships and 25 smaller vessels, to run upon the rivers, and for land that they have concluded for 4,000 horse, most Reiters.

That 3,000 Spaniards more are arrived there of late.

That the King of Denmark hath sent him very kynd message by my Lord Willowbey, that he offereth to her Majestie's service 2,000 horse, with his best captains and his own son, if she pleases.

The Count Hollock to be very forward and earnest in her Majestie's service.

That he hath mett with divers letters and intelligences, wherby he understandeth that the Pope hath greatly laboured divers desperate persons to do violence to her Majestie, the plot to be executed by strangers under colour of merchandise. And that the Prince of Parma of late spake broadly to that purpose, that the English ayde would not continue many weekes, meaning by her Majestie's death.

That he is informed how that two Jesuites of Burges have undertaken a great enterprize in England, and were well instructed with pretences for accesse to the court. To prevent the mischief, it were good, 1, To banish the Popish merchants of the Low Countries at London; 2, To lay for these two, whom he will gett better described; 3, To remove her Majestie from London to Woodstock, or Farnham, or some other place far and in a country well affected.

Feb. 24. That he hath procured 20,000 florens more of the States monthly, besides the 20,000 graunted before.

That he hath chaunged divers garrisons of late, for some small suspicions, and now all places to be sure and faithfull.

That he is making Lillo and Lyfkyn Hoof stronger, being places of so good importance.

That he hath learned there to be of a good nature, and hopeth to sett the Kings of Fraunce and Spain together by the eares shortly, without a groat charges.

To move her Majestie for Sir W. Pellam's sending over, and Captain Bingham for four months.

To remember for money, money.

Feb. 26. That he is informed by one of the States, of certain brutes given abroad by the Prince of Parma, touching the Quene's disposition for a peace with the King of Spain, and to the lyke effect he is certified from London that one Lewis de Pare, a Spanish merchant, is sent a month since to the King about that matter, which he cannot believe, being a thing so dishonourable and dangerous.

That Mr. Secretarie would certifie him if any such thing be.

Feb. 27. That Coronell Shenkes hath taken a towne and castell in Westphalie, of very great importance. The town to be the principall within the province of Werle, belonging to the Bishop of Collen.

That the Count of Mears hath met with a conspiracie of late at Deventer, and chaunged the magistrates, who would have

rendered the towne to the Spanishe, and that this Count is the best Protestant and surest affected in those countreys.

That Utricht and some other neutrall townes, since his coming, have inclined towards religion, and shewed some good fruits, the ministers now waxing more bold, and that he meaneth shorteley towards Utricht.

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, as matters do rise so am I bold to wryte unto you, and yet I see so many misaventures in safety of arryvall of letters, as I see it necessary to repeate things in second letters, wherewith your Lordship may be troubled by reading; but I would rather so trouble your Lordship then leave it undone. In my former letters, I have shewed you that her Majestie wold have your Lordship to cause inquisition to be made of the nomber and power of the shipps of warre in Holland and Zelland, and with what number they wold be content uppon their charges to serve this yere with her Majestie's navy agaynst the King of Spayne's power, which hath been reported greater than I can believe; but her Majestie is resolved to have her navy ready at Portesmouth, before the end of March. Her Majestie also wold gladly have your Lordship discover to what purpose the Itallien carpenters do work, as it is sayd, very secretly in churches in Antwerp, about shipps or gallyes.

Of late, Ortell, that remayneth here agent for the States, propounded certain questions uppon the trade to be used by the shippers of Holland and Zelland. The articles I do send herewith to your Lordship, with an answer by us here given under your Lordship's advise. Uppon conference with the States, we fynd here that under colour of any trade with marchandise to any part of Pycardy, the enemy is succoured. Nevertheless, as your Lordship there shall fynd the States conformable, we will here prescribe the same order to be kept.

Truly, my Lord, it is most necessary that all kynd of victells or matters for shipping be utterly forbydd. We have advertisements from Lysborn, by sondry come from thence that all English men are at liberty there, and that the preparation is as yet not great, only all maner of great hulks are stayed. And so I end from any farder troubling of your Lordship. 17th January, at Grenwyck.

Your Lordship's most assuredly,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, your last letter come to my hands was by your Lordship wrytten at the Hague the 29th of January, by which I was glad to perceave you had receaved my letters sent by Mr. Atye, and my son, which were made old letters by the contrary wynd, which of late hath bene so constant to hang long in one coast, as either your Lordship there have cause, or we here, to misse it, for it holdeth strongly either west, which pleaseth us to send, but not to heare, or els in the east, which discontenteth either of us in contrary manner.

By your Lordship's letters I fynd many thyngs of my letters answered, so I shall be able to satisfye her Majestie; but to be playn with your Lordship, in a few words, I and other your Lordship's poore frends, find her Majestie so discontented with your acceptation of the government there, before you had advertised, and had her Majestie's opinion, that although I, for my own part, judge this action both honorable and profitable, yet her Majestie will not endure to heare any speeche in defence therof. Nevertheless, I hope a small tyme shall alter this hard conceit in her Majestie, wherunto I have already and shall not desist to oppose myself with good and sound reasons to move her Majestie to alter her hard opinion. But to end this wryting, I cold not but to accompany this gentleman, Horatio Pallavicino, with my letter, whom for his wisdom and all other good qualities, I

nede not to commend to your Lordship, being so well known and approved to your Lordship as he is.

Your Lordship's assured at command,

W. BURGHLEY.

From my howse in Westminster,
7th February, 1586.

SIR ROBERT CONSTABLE* TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

It may please your Honor, the 21st of this instant, Mr. Randolphe, her Majestie's ambassador, came unto this towne, and presently wrote unto the King for his licence, which was returned unto him the 24th of the same, who the next morning sett forth of this towne unto the courte of Scotland, and requireth that he might have Robert Carvell to accompany him, whom I licenced accordingly. I received this enclosed from Roger Ashton,† which I do returne unto your Honor.

Th' occurrences I have intelligence of at this time, are as followeth :

The Master of Grey (as I am informed) stands not in such favor with the King as he did of late, and therefore determined to drawe himself home from courte.

The Secretary‡ is in great credit and favour with the King at this present.

There hath bene some conspiracie and practise latelie against the Lordes. But it was lefte of, for that it could not be brought about to take effect, devised (as is thought) by the Erle of Arren and his adherents.

Sir William Steward was apprehended upon suspecte for the same matter, and brought to the Lord of Arbrotathe, who examined him, and afterwards was carried to the King,

* Marshal of Berwick.

† The English resident in Scotland.

‡ Maitland.

with whom the King hath great conference in secrett, and thereuppon by the King discharged, at libertie and resident nowe in courte.

It is said th'Erle of Arren shall departe forthe of the realme abowte the thirde or fourth of Marche next ensuing, and that Collonell Steward hath taken his leave already at the courte, and is departe forth of the realme lykewise. And moreover, (as I am informed,) if her Majestie's ambassador had not come at this present there had growen great displeasure and alteration sodenly amongst them in the courte, for that there is great disdaine and envie amongst the noblemen at this present.

The Lord Maxwell as yet continueth in warde, whom the Lordes have in great suspect for this conspiracie and practise against them, and are turned to be his enemies, seeking to procure at the King's handes that he maye have his triall, and abyde an assise, who is like to come to be arraigned, and thought it will go very hard with him, as well for his former proceedings, as this his late action.

I am certainly informed that Sir Thomas Carre, the Lord of Farnihearst, is deceased in the towne of Aberdene, in the north of Scotland.

(24th Feb. 1585.)

W. DAVISON TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My singular good Lorde, yesterday I receyved your letter of and even now another of the 10th of this present. By them both I see how much your Lordship longeth to heare how things have succeeded with me since my returne, wherin, because I have written at some length in my letters of the 2, commytted for surety sake to this bearer, one of the captains that . . . over, though detayned here ever since by the contrariety of wynd and weather, I shall not neede in this to make any new or long rehearsall. Since my second

and third day's audience, the stormes I mett withall at myn arryvall have overblown and abated dayly. Sir Thomas Henneage,* notwithstanding, continueth his journey, and, as we think, is yesterday embarqued. He intendeth to go by Flushing, where I wyshe he might not fayle of Sir Philip Sydney. Since the qualification of his message, I do not heare of any change; neither hath her Majestie, or himself, mentioned anything therof to Mr. Secretarie; the most I have learned therof hath been from my Lord Treasurer, who, I can assure your Lordship, hath herein done good offices, though he have not been able to do all that he wished. On Satterday last, uppon some newes out of France, wherein it seemes they grew jealous of your Lordship's interest in that government, her Majestie fell into some new heat, which lasted not long. This day I was myself at the court, and found her in reasonable good termes, though she will not yet seem satisfied to me, either with the matter or manner of your proceeding, notwithstanding all the labor I have taken in that behalf. Howsoever it be, I am zealous of the success of things there uppon the brutes delivered abroad, specially when they shall be confirmed by Sir Thomas his arrivall, if he carry not himself very temperately and discretely, which I have the better hope of, as well for the common opinion had of his judgment, as for the love he beareth to your person and the cause.

It shall not be amisse, in my poore opinion, that in your next letters to my Lord Treasurer, your Lordship take knowledge as from myself of his good offices done in your behalf. In the meantyme, I do not forgett to labor him all that I may. I had no speach with him this day, by reason both himself and divers others of the councell were met together in hearing the old differences between the Lord President of the

* Sent to signify to the Earl of Leicester the Queen's displeasure at his having accepted the government of the Netherlands.

north, and my Lord Mountjoy.* Mr. Vice-Chamberlain protesteth that he hath and will deale honorably with your Lordship; and for anything that I heare, hath performed it. Mr. Secretary hath been behind-hand to no one of the rest in an honest and honorable defence of your doings, but th'opinion of his partiality for your Lordship hath somewhat prejudiced his credit with her. Both he and the rest of your good friends do fynde a great lack in your Lordship's seldom entertayning her Majestie with your own letters, and think it one speciall helping cause to all the offence and myslike here against you, which I fynde to be true, and wish your Lordship would labor to reforme.

Though I dare not take uppon me to give advyse to your Lordship how to proceede with Sir Thomas Henneage, yet could I wishe, under your correction, in case he has order to proceede in the delivery of any other letters then to yourself, that they were retayned till uppon the information of your Lordship and others, I had signified the danger and inconvenience thereof to her Majestie, and receyved her further pleasure, because in the meane tyme I hope things may be wrought here as you wish them, so your Lordship forgett not to amend your noted fault in her Majestie's behalf; for in particular, I find not her Majestie altogether so sharp as some men say, though her favour outwardly cooled in respect both of this action and of our plaine proceeding with her here in defence thereof.

In your supply of men there is nothing yet resolved, though her Majestie promised to determyne something this day. I am sorry your Lordship hath cause to myslike the partie I recommended you, not without some forewarning of his particular wants, which your Lordship will, in your wisdom, either help or beare with. The man I know is able to do you very good service, but his long use to governe alone, doth make him somewhat incompatible fellowship.

* James Blount, sixth Baron Montjoy, father of the Lord Montjoy, celebrated in Irish history.

I have not seen my Lady these ten or twelve dayes ; to-morrow I hope, God willing, to do my duty towards her. I found her greatly troubled with tempestuous newes she receyved from court, but somewhat comforted when she understood how I had proceeded with her Majestie. It hath been assured unto me by some great ones, that it was putt into her Majestie's head that your Lordship had sent for her, and that she made her preparation for the journey, which, added to a number of other things, cast in by such as love neither your Lordship nor the cause, did not a little increase this heat of her Majestie's offence against you. But these passions overblowen, I hope her Majestie will have a gracious regard both towards yourself and the cause, as she hath not let sometymes to protest since my returne, knowing how much it importeth her in honour, surety, and necessity ; which recommending to the blessings of God, and your Lordship to his gracious protection, thus I most humbly take my leave. At my poore howse, this last of February, 1585.

Your Lordship's ever bounden servant,

W. DAVISON.

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, I should be ashamed greatly for not oftener wryting to your Lordship of late, having receaved so many from you, but that I have an excuse more sufficient, than I lyke of, which also this bearer can inform you of. Since Mr. Hennadge went from hence, who tarryed very long at the sea coast for want of convenient wynd, her Majestie wold never be content to have any speeche of the state of things nedeful to be knowne for your chardg. I have not desisted to move her to gyve eare, but she continued her offence as in no sort I cold attayn to any answer mete to be given to your Lordship. And now of late having had a myshap by a fall,

wherby I have bene and still am to kepe my bed, I have at sondry tymes wrytten to her Majesty. I have also sent my mynd by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, who hath earnestly used my name to her Majestie, specially to send money and men to supply the broken bandes, but no answer to purpose can be had, and yet I mynd not to cease, but being pushed thereto with conscience and care of her honour, yea, of her savety, I will still sollicit her Majesty, hoping God will move her to harken to necessary motions, principally for herself.

Now, my good Lord, though I cannot gyve you no answer to many thyngs for lack of her Majestie's good disposition, yet I will remember the matters contained in your Lordship's letters, and wryte soomwhat therof, in another paper here inclosed with my man's hand, because, in very truth, the payne of my bruised foot disableth my hand to write as I wold.

My Lord, I imparted to her Majestie the secret offer made to you for to yield to her Majestie the gayn of 30,000 or 40,000 pounds by the yere, for the permission to coyne the Rose nobles there, but her Majestie would not be tempted therewith; and surely, my Lord, I marvell how such a gayn can be made therof, for though for a reasonable portion to be coyned there, at the first utterance, the same might be valued for great gayn, yet when there should be any plenty, the gredynes of them will be stayed, and the true valewe wold be knowne, and the estymation wold abate.

It wold be knowne to what qualitie he wold monthely or quarterly coyne, and if it should be taken in hand, and within a few months quake for want of utterance, the matter wold be evil spoken of, to erect up a coinadg in a forrayn country of our currant money; but if the gayne might be sure, the proffit wold answer the speche. As I may heare more from your Lordship, so will I procede herin. And so I take my leave of your Lordship, praying you to take in good part, my

divyding of my letter, by wryting part with my own hand, and part with my servant's.

From the Court at Grenwych, the 6th of March, 1585.

Your Lordship's most assured,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR HENRY WALLOP TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Right Honorable and my very good Lord, though I be late to make shewe of my gladnes, of the happie beginnings which we heare your Lordship hath encountered with in this your voyage unto the Low Countryes, yet I am none of the laste that do rejoyce thereat, or in the meaner sorte, either in respecte of my partycular devotion and affection to-wardes your Lordship, or for the greate good which I conceyve and hope may come unto the common cause of Godde's truth, to the relief of those oppressed people, and to the preservation and salfetie of her Majestie's estate, through the prosperous successe of the enterprize, God being pleased to bless the same, as he hath done the firste beginning, to-wardes which, for that my fortune, nor the reason of my being employed here in so remote a place, for her Majestie's service, doth mynister unto me any other means to advaunce so godly a work, I will at the least emploie my daylie prayers to his divine Majestie, that he will vouchsafe (if it be his holie will) to prosper the whole course of your Lordship's proceedings there with the same good fortune with which this your first entering hath been made joyfull to all those that love and honor your Lordship, or favor the cause. And as I shall ever be most glad to understand that they be, as I do wishe, so do I humbly beseeche your Lordship to accompte of me, as of one that shall lykewise be as readie to do you any kynd of service that shall lye in my power, as any man of my calling and

abilitie, wherof whensoever it shall please you to make tryall by commaunding me in any sorte, I will yield better proof by deedes then I can make offers or declarations in wordes.

This broken and patched estate is for the present in quyet, but of the contynuaunce I dare not assure. Lenity and temporising (in my simple judgment) is not the waie to reduce Ireland to dutyfulnes and civility. But such her Majesty will have it for, and the dysobedient in religion not to be touched. Her directions must be obeyed, though I feare it will prove dangerous in the ende. Thus for this tyme ceasing to trouble your Lordship any further, I end with remembraunce of my humble dutie.

From Dublyn, the 15th of Marche, 1585.

Your Lordship's alwaies at commaundement,

H. WALLOP.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lorde, you wrote unto me in your laste letters for pioneers to be sent over, wheruppon I moved her Maiestye and found her very willing, in so much as order was given for a commission; but synce, the matter is stayed, I know not for what cause. Also according as your Lordship desired, I spake for one Jukes for the office of Backhowse, and the matter well liked. In ought else your Lordship shall fynde me most assured to my power to performe all offices of love, honor, and service towards you. But I have been of late very pestilent reported in this place to be rather a drawer back then a furtherer of the action where you govern. Your Lordshipe doth well understand my affection towards Spayn, and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune, hating the tirannous prosperity of that estate, and it were now straunge and monstrous, that I should become an enemy to my cuntry and conscience. But all that I have desired at

your Lordshipe's hands is, that you will evermore deale directly with me in all matters of suspect doubleness, and so ever esteeme as you shall find me deserving good or bad. In the meane tyme I humbly beseech you lett no poetically scribe worke your Lordship by any device to doubt that I am a hollow or cold servant in the action; or a meane wellwiller and follower of your owne, and even so I humbly take my leave, wishing you all honor and prosperity.

From the Court, the 29th of Marche, 1586.

Your Lordshipe's to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

The Queen is in very good termes with you, and, thanks be to God! well pacified, and you are agayne her sweet Robyn.

WILLIAM FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Upon Tewesday morning, at such time as the Earle of Arundell's* cause was in handeling in the Starre chamber, myselfe, with others, did sitt at Fynsburie, where we found my Lord Windsor's office. After that I went into London, and kept the Sessions there, where we had little to do. At after noone, went I to Fynsbury againe, and did likewise keepe the Sessions for Middlesex, where we had not much ado, but in verie small causes.

Wednesday was spent at the gaoll of Newgate, where we had little or nothing to do. The matters there were slender and of no great importaunce. There were none executed; but all the reprieues are referred to the order of my Lords

* Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk. He had committed various infractions of the laws against the Catholics, and in the preceding year had endeavoured to escape out of England, but being taken, after a year's imprisonment, he now received judgment, which was, that he should be fined ten thousand pounds, and should suffer imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure.

the Commissioners, for the which cause we receaved letters from sixe of the Lords.

Thursday was spent by Mr. Wroth and Mr. Yoonge in perusing the strength and abilitie of the prisoners. Myself went that day to the Court, by commaundement, where I found neare fortie of Westminster and the Duchie. Our coming was for the Marshall Sessions, but it did not holde, and it is adjourned unto the next day before the next terme.

Upon Friday, a good number of the commissioners for the sewers sat in Southwarke upon a newe commission, where we did bestowe a great piece of that day. At after noone, I sat in commission at Lambeth, with my Lord's grace, where three Oxford preachers were charged for that they would have all temporall causes to be decided by the seniors of the church, and that her Majestie had not to deal in causes ecclesiasticall, with such like matters. My Lord Almoner did beare much with them.

Satterday was by me employed to abbreviate and explaine a new commission graunted for the relief of the Fleete and King's Bench, and this I did by the commaundement of my Lord of Canterbury his Grace. And thus your good Lordship may see that I have not bene idle this present weeke before Whitsuntide.

My Lord Mayor hath a house at Zelinge, neare Brainford, where he was robbed. The goods came to Mrs. Gardiner's howse, whose husband was lately chirographer; she imprisoned the officers in her house, but now she hath made restitution, and is sorrie for her misdemeanour.

Your good Lordship, peradventure, may marvell why we have had so fewe dealings in criminall causes at these our late Sessions. The reason is this: we have in prison here in Newgate the most principall thieves of this realme; we lacke none but Manneringe, who doth daylie gather into his societie lewd persons, who committ in all parts of this realme most daungerous robberies. I heare that the Genner or Ingen is in your Lordship's custodie, the want wherof

is a great stay of many burglaries. This present Whitson-day, 1586. From Bacon-house.

Your Lordship's most humblie bounden,
W. FLETEWODE.

COTTON MOWGRAVE TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

My Lord Ambassador and my good cousin, I am most glad to heare of your healthe, as, God be thanked, I left your wyfe and chyl dren, when I came from London, and I am glad to hear of your returne out of Scotland in healthe. I pray you lett your friend see you at his poore house, in your passage; it is not out of your way; you shall be as welcome to my house as unto any friend his house in England that you have. News I can wryte you none, because they are thinges I aske not after. God send you well at my house at Nostill, and from thence, as it shall please God and you, to London, where there is so many that wold be most glad to see you, and I to receive some few lynes from you of your returne, as you passe, and at what tyme, and thus I committ you to the Lord. The fyrst day of May, 1586.

Your kynsman and assured friend,
COTTON MOWGRAVE.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Right honorable and my very good Lord, purposing now presently to have gone up to London about diverse great sutes I have, and being ready to go to-morrow earlie, there was this afternoon brought me an information of a certaine mutiny and assemblie to be shortlie practised within this

* Sir Henry Ratcliffe, who succeeded to the title of his brother, on the death of the latter in 1583, and died in 1593. He was captain and governor of Portsmouth.

shire, and for that both the man who gave me notice hereof, as also he of whom he hearde the same, are both of good behaviour and honest credit, I thought good to stay my coming up till further examination and triall be made hereof; and have sent your Honor herin inclosed a coppie of this man's declaration. In the mean tyme, I have directed out letters to the justices of the peace in every division to prepare themselves, and such as be under their charge, to be in a readynes to suppress and resist every attempt, and to take order that their beacons may be for a tyme well guarded with some horsemen and footmen, to th'ende no lewde persons sholde be able to attempt the fying of them uppon any so-dayne, wherby the countrey should be assembled or brought together, and also that the constables and other honest men may watch and have speciall care if any such action should be conferred or talked of, and to informe the same. I have forborne to write herein to the whole counsell boarde, unlesse I had more better prooffe therof, least it might make a greater rumor and speech therof then the case I hope will require, mynding upon better examination to advertise your Honor more at large.

From my howse at Beare, going back to Portesmouth, the 4th of June, 1586.

Your Honor's to command to his power,

SUSSEX.

Postscript.—Synce the wryting of this letter, I have also examyned the party who first declared the matter, who doth agree with the other, as by his declaration also may appeare.

My Lord, wheras I have a daye of hearing betweene my Lady my sister-in-lawe and me, uppon Fryday next, I shall moste hartely require your Lordship to put it off untill it be towards th'ende of the terme, consydering the cause of my present stay, by which tyme I hope there shall be no further cause for me to stay, and your Lordship will do the lyke at my other sutes.

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, the sodayn coming to me this afternoone of Mr. Nicholas Gorge, with declaration of her Majestie's meaning to send him with speed to your Lordship, forceth me to scribble a few lynes, though I have cause to wryte very many. What her Majestie wryteth, I know not, but I hope very comfortably, for so I lately found her Majesty disposed to allow greatly of your service, howsoever she had bene in many things sowre, if I may so terme it. At this presence, uppon the coming of the tresorer and the auditor, her Majestie hath shewed some mislyking of her charges there, and evill content to heare how more than nedefull it is to send money thyther.

* * * *

Your Lordship hath no few causes of grief, as partly appeareth by your Lordship's late letters sent by Mr. Barker to Mr. Vicechamberlayn, Mr. Secretary, and myself, and in truth I cannot blame your Lordship either in thynking or writing hardly of your state, considering the small comfort from hence, notwithstanding your good desert there, and the good successes of your services there. But yet, my good Lord, we here have more to saye in our defence and purgation, than is convenient for us to say truly, by removing the fault from ourselves, and so I hope your Lordship's own ministers here can declare and express unto your Lordship. For otherwise truly, for myne own part, if I were not cleare of all fault, I might lyve with a conscience tormented. Wherefore, my good Lord, howsoever your Lordship feeleth cause of much grieft, yet condemn not your frends here, that are not able to remedy such accidents as are out of their power. Good my Lord, now that her Majesty is disposed to allow of your honorable servyces, turn your griefes into comfort, and, in one word, there is no way so ready to continue her Majestie's good lyking therof, as to help to abridg her extraordinary charges, the nature wherof truly doth make here great changes with her Majesty.

I will leave now this humor, and end with the other matter of our merchants. They complayne grievously of the Hollander's shippes of war that kepeth the ryver of Embden in such sort, as they can have no trade to Embden, the let wherof impeacheth their trade, so as they are less able to help you with money. And truly, my Lord, if you can help that, and by placard stablish your values of our monyes there, you shall not want their help with monyes from hence, the carrying wherof thither is here very evill spoken of, and greatly mislyked of her Majestie. And as it is here commonly reported, by the over-valuing of our gold there, it is stolen over thither, and partly chested up there, or molten and converted into base gold, and of this here is very lewd speeche by persons malecontent.

* * * * *

8th Junii, 1586.

Your Lordship's at command,

W. BURGHLEY.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO LORD BURGHLEY.

It maye please your Honor, whereas I wrote unto you in my letters of the 4th of June, of th'information I had of a conspiracie of rysing and tumulte, which shold have bene putt in execution by fying of the beacons, you shall understand that the same, uppon prosecution of the matter, doth manifestly appeare not only to be a rysing and rebellion in this shire, but also in other shires, as it was in King Edward's tyme, as by th'examination sent unto your Honors of the counsell, and my letters therof may more plainlie appeare. I thank God that it was my chaunce to stay two or three daies longer than I was determyned, for I finde by the sequell of the matter (as some terme it) there wold have bene a black and bloody day in Englande, which (I hope) by this meanes of discovery and foresight is prevented.

I have by letters unto the justices of every division, and articles delivered unto the constables, and by private speech and perswasion amongst the yeomen and best farmers, taken such order (I hope) as if there should be any murmuring or speech of sturr, the yeomen, farmers, and constables will do their endeavours to make stay therof, and to cause the parties to be apprehended, and also give such speedie notice to the justices of the peace that they shall be suppressed before they may levy any number for force. I have also written letters to the Deputie Lieutenants of Sussex, and justices of peace there, for the apprehensions of certayne persons in that shire being of this conspiracie, wishing them also for a more safetie and defence, to cause their beacons to be for a tyme the better garded. I have divers of the conspirators and their confederates taken, of whom some be examyned, and some not, for that they be brought in hourly, of whom you view the names in a paper herein inclosed. And so I most humbly commytt your Honor to God. From Portismowth, this 13th of June, 1586.

Your Honor's assured to his power,

SUSSEX.

Postscript.—I presume your Honor will have me in remembrance touching my sutes, as I requested your Honor in my former letters, for the deferring of the dayes of hearing untill my coming, which is put of uppon this occasion of service, so that if it cannot be this terme, your Honor wold defer it till the next terme.

Postscript.—It may please your Honor, I thinke I have some here in my custodie, for that as yet I have sent none to gaole, that if they were well wronge, wold disclose by whom and from whom this originall rebellion did proceede, wherof I pray your Honor's speedy answer, for that once being in the gaole they shall not lack counsellors enowe for their purpose, and to advertise how they shall be sent for; theruppon I will commytt the rest to the gaole.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My Lord, synce the disappointing of their pretended¹ rebellion, I am secretly given to understande, that some recusants have prepared themselves to flye beyonde sea, and to carry with them their goods and other matters, who I feare, by the perswasion of forayne rebells and fugitives, and by practise of domesticall recusants, have bene privy of this rebellious conspiracie. I have so followed this matter, as I have brought it so to passe, as those which were a counsell for conveying of them and their goods over sea, be now by me and some of my household retynue appointed to be the apprehenders of them. They knowe none of their names but one, but there be both gentlemen and gentlewomen to go over. The barck that sholde carry them over was bought and rigged here in Portismouth; but I have talked with the master therof, who is in consort with them that I have sent in a pynnace, to give them a token when they and their goods be come aboarde, and then the pynnace to boarde them. I have also sent out Henry Clerck, a shipp master of myne owne, in a boat of his owne of thirtie tonnes, with sixtene or twentie shott, to lye plying up and downe uppon the seas, wherunto the fugitives mynde to goe, to th'ende if they shold escape the pynnace uppon the shore, he sholde meete them at the seas, and by this means I hope to have them all taken and brought unto me. I have rather chosen to deal this way by sea, then to seeke to apprehende the knownen man by lande, for that he being once apprehended, the others wolde be conveyed away, for such people be overmuch friended uppon this sea coast, and such letters as they have of advyse or credit (if they carry any,) never to come to light. If this matter shold not fall out according to my expectation, but that I sholde mysse of them, yet I hope your

¹ Intended.

Honor and the rest wold so make report of my good will for service, as the best may be thought therof. And if this my practice for their apprehension take good successe, I have promised the discoverers and apprehenders a good reward of suche goods as they shall take with them, which I hope your Honors will for my creditt's sake, and the recompence of their service, give me leave to performe. The worst is (if I should mysse) it is but that so many lewde persons be gone, which perhapps by friendship might have obtayned lycense. And so I most humbly commyt your Honor to God. From Portismowth, the 13th of Junii, 1586.

Your Honor's assured to his power,

SUSSEX.

LORD BURGHEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, tymes do alter matters in all places, and therefore this forenoone, when Mr. Secretary and I had taken care for making some instructions for Mr. Aty, wherof some part tended to declare some thyngs beside her letters to the counsell of the States from her Majesty, and some part to yourself, her Majesty mislyked that Mr. Aty should, being your secretary, impart her pleasure to the States in thyngs that might concern yourself, and therefore soddenly she gave Mr. Secretary order to command my son,* who was ready to take shipping towards Holland, to stay and to be informed of those matters that concern the speeches to the counsell of the States, and that he should be directed with those to your Lordship, and as your Lordship should thynk mete upon perusal of them, so to direct him in her Majestie's name to utter the same. And this was the very cause that Mr. Aty was not employed therin.

* Sir Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley's eldest son, now governor of Brill. He was created by James I. Earl of Exeter.

I see still her Majestie's disposition very resolute to continue her first purpose for the defence of that action, and therein she is with good cause fully persuaded of your Lordship's honorable mynd to prosecute the same to her honour and surety, but alwayes I fynd two obstacles in her Majesty. One is, she is very carefull, as a good naturall pryncce, although in such a case as this somewhat too scrupulous, to have her people adventured in fights. The other is, she will not have any more expended on her part, that she hath yielded unto, mislyking all extraordinary charges. And therefore she still calleth on us to wryte earnestly to your Lordship, that you should now, having that generall authoritie which you have with her good lyking, press and command that the common collections of the countrey should answer all manner of charges, to the disburdening of her Majesty, otherwise than to the sums assented unto. And so her Majesty doth often repeat that your Lordship hath wrytten hyther that you wold so do.

By a letter which this daye Mr. Secretary hath gyven my son, sent out of France from Sir Edward Stafford, to be showed unto your Lordship, you may see how diligent the enemyes and their partyners are to disperse news for their advantages, not regarding how they mixt lyes with truthes. That which in that letter is most marquable for your Lordship is that of Utrycht, which I doubt not but your Lordship will regard.

I know no better waye to impeache these excursions of the Prince of Parma, with his number of soldiars, wherwith he semeth that he will kepe the field, than by all pollycy to distress his victell, which enterprise must now be taken in hand afore harvest. For surely, my Lord, I understand all the countreys in Flanders and Artoiss are well taken with corn, and lyke to yield great plenty to serve all the wynter and spryng following. Surely if the enemy did not thus avance hymself towardses you there in Holland, by the waye of Braband, wherby I see your Lordship is forced to kepe

your strengthes there also to defend your frontier townes, as Bommell, Nuiss, Gorcum, and such lyke, your Lordship might, with a small band of horsmen to be layed at Sluse and Ostend, compell the towns of Bruges and Gant to revolt, for I know surely the people there are bent so to do for want.

I doubt not but Mr. Secretary advertiseth your Lordship of the state of Scotland, where Mr. Randolph findeth none better nor more constantly disposed to kepe good amyty with her Majesty than the Kyng himself. The Lords that were here banished are, as the Scotts termeth it, somewhat drye, which I impute to fearfulness. Of them all, the Master of Glames is most cold, joyning himself strictly with the Secretary agaynst the Master of Gray and Archebald Dowglass, which two men remayn constant to the Quene's Majestie's frendshipp.

Out of Spayn we heare that the Kyng's navy, so long prepared to have followed Sir Francis Drake, are newly stayed, and all other preparations out of Italy.

In Irland all thyngs are quiet, and a number of gentilmen of Somersett, Devon, Dorsett, Cheshyre, and Lancashyre, are making themselves to go to Monster, to plant two or three thousand people mere English there this year, and it is pretended by them to plant about twenty thousand people English within a few yeres.

And thus, my good Lord, I beseeche God prosper you, for his honor, to govern those contryes as your noble heart can desyre, and I beseeche your Lordship to continue my son in your favor, as he desyreth.

From the Court at Grenewych, ready to pass to London, the 20th of June, 1586.

Your Lordship's assuredly to my power,
W. BURGHELEY.

THE DECLARATION OF B. BLAND, LATELY ARRIVED FROM SPAIN.*

It is reported that the Kinge of Spayne is making three hundreth sayle of shipps, whither I am not able to say, the reporte is for England or Ireland; of this I am assured, he hath sent for all his captaynes, pilotts, and masters, in all the whole land of Spayne, to be at his courte of Mathreete,¹ by the 1st of May last past, to take their counsaile in this affaire, for which fleete, as by reporte, there is appoynted ten galleasses, one hundredth sayle of gallies brought owt of the straytes, and the rest are of the shipps and barques made in the contrey. Sixtene sayle of the sayd fleete are made from Byskie, and the province there; there is six greateshipps made readie at St. Sebastians, two in Allareatha, two in St. Andreas, and six in Castro, with all speed possible to departe for Lysbon, where the whole fleete are appointed to meete together. But it is sore suspected by our Englishmen that are in Spayne, that the King of Spayne goeth about to make some consort with the King of Scoteland for some entrance through his land into England. The cause why we suspecte the Scottishmen so much is, that before this time they have not bene accustomed to use any traffick into that contrey, and now at this present hath bene two Scottishe shipps in Bilbo, one in Alareda, one in Castro, which hath bene very well intreated, and in better order than ever we were at any tyme when we and they had the best peace that ever we had, saving one that was in Castro, whose name is George Locker, of the towne of Ayre, and was taken of suspicion to be an Englishman, for the which he was greatly

* The rumours of the great preparations making by the King of Spain, and the surmises as to their destination, began to create much uneasiness in England, and all intelligence from that quarter was now received with avidity.

¹ Madrid.

troubled, and some of his men put to the racke. And after he had proved himself to be a Scottishman, by wytness of some of his contreyemen that were in Bilbo, he was sett at lyberty, and appealed to the King, where he had present justice without delay. But on this I dare venture my life, that if ever the King of Spaine do give any attempt, he will eyther land his men in Ireland, or Scotland, if he may have leave of the King of Scotts.

It is most certaine that the King of Spaine hath taken all his ould souldiers owte of all his holds and fortes, both in Spaine and Italie, and in all other his dominions, and placed newe in the same, and the ould to serve in such place as the King shall appoynte, whither I am not able to saie. But the Spaniard reports, that if they were landed in England, they have no dowte of the winning of the land, for that they are certainly persuaded by letters owte of England, that th'one halfe of England will take theyr parte, and who the principalls be they knowe, and the token that shall be between the Spanyarde and them shall be the signe of the Crosse in their hand; and by this signe the Spanyarde shall receive them as good Catholicks. Of this token I was certainly perswaded by an Irishe priest, that liveth in that contrey, and hath bene behelped by me and divers others Englishmen owte of the contrey.

I remayned prisoner in Spaine from the last of Maie, 1585, untill the 13th daie of June, 1586, and was conveyed by some of my friends aboard a shipp of Aire, and arrived in Ayre the 26th of the same monethe, and tooke passage thence to Dublin the 27th of the same, and resided at Dublin the last of the said June, 1586.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO LORD BURGHELY.

Right Honorable, having yet in remembrance your Honor's wish in your last letter, that the receipt of my letter

which I had written unto your Honor a little before, had bene dated rather from Cape Venester¹ then from Plymouth, I cannot omytt to give your Honor now to understand that as we then slacked no possible travel or dilligence which might any way belong to the handling of so great a dispatch, so let me assure your good Lordship, that I will make it most apparent to your Honor, that it skaped us but twelve hours, the whole treasure which the Kynge of Spayne had out of the Yndyes this last yere, the cause best knowen to God. And we had at that instant very fowl weather.

My very good Lord, there is now a very great gappe opened, very littel to the lyking of the Kynge of Spayne. God work it all to his glory !

The gentlemen, the bearers herof, have bene actors and eye-witnesses of all that is passed, and can fully certyfy your Honor of all particularities better then can be written, for which cause I thought it most meete to send them, as also more especially to declare the present estate of our shippes, munition, and men, being, as I judge, of no small value to performe any good servise, if her Majestie be offered the occasion of further employment.

It resteth, therefore, in your wysdoms to consyder, and in lyke sort to directe speedily, what course we have to follow.

And further, I most humbly beseeche your good Lordship to afford us your honourable good favour, that some moneyes may be had with some expedition for the present dispatch of our poorer sort of men, whose travel and long absence desyr-eth a speedy dispatch. The sum requisite for this dispatch would be no lesse then sixe thowsand pounds ; and in lieu thereof, there shall be either by land or sea sent to the Tower, or where or when your Lordships shall take order, bullyon for it. And so humbly taking my leave of your good Lordship, untill such tyme as your Lordship shall command me to wait on your Lordship, when I shall give your Lordship something to understand, I hope in God, to your Lordshippe's

Finisterre.

good lyking. From a-bord her Majestie's shippe the Elysa-
beth Benaventure, this 26th July, 1586.

Your Honor's most bounden,

FRA. DRAKE.

RANDOLPH TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS,* PRIOR OF GLASGOW.

Domine, non adhuc sacrosancte, I long to hear how you have preached to the Carrs, and how far your eloquence can persuade about the Queen's, my mistress, favorable offer, or their obedience to the King. It is written or reported to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, that they are gone to the hills. If my authority were as great as the Queene of England's is, then should neither hill nor hold keep them; but it should be too hotte for them to remayne in either. When you are sanctified, and in the honourable estate of an ambassador, you will know more then yet I will either speake or write. Mr. Secretary is advertised of such doings and alterations lyke presently to be, as though ten myllions of men were to be slayne in a day among you. As I see no suche lykelyhoode, so have I written to the contrary. Look to your own person that you bring it shortly sacrosanctified into England. Beware of the crafts of the Arranges and hatred of the Carrs, for herupon dependeth the state of your welfare, sanctification, or reprobation. As notable a piece of knavery hath bene of late wrote agaynst my sanctitie *in esse* and yours *in propinquo*, as any cunning knave in Scotland could ever have wrought.

I have sent the Kynge two hunting men, verie good and skilfull, with one footman, that can hoop, hollow, and crye, that all the trees in Fawkland will quake for feare. Pray the Kynge's majestie to be mercifull to the poor bucks; but let

* Cousin to the Regent Morton. He was soon after this employed as ambassador resident in England.

him spare and look well to himself. At Newcastle, the 5th of August, 1586.

Your Lordship's to command,

THO. RANDOLPH.

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

(Extract.)

* * * *

I think, by the accompt of Englishmen of late months past out of this realme, there are besyde the Quene's own army, above sixe thousand footemen, so as if your Lordship may have wherwith to pay them, I wold thynk your Lordships shold be able so to kepe the field, as the Prince of Parma shold not be able to continue any siege to any town of strength, being also well manned. And surely, my Lord, without you shall be able to kepe the field, there is no town so strong but the Prynce with his battery will wyn it.

I am very glad that the town of Anell serveth to so good a purpose. I am sure, if the Prince did not follow these sieges in Gelderland, &c. your Lordship wold advance some horsement to Sluse and Ostend, to spoyle the countreys about Bruges and Gant, which also wold make them revolt.

Now, my Lord, I dowt not but Mr. Secretary doth at large acquaint you with the discovery of the late traytorous conspiracies, the authors wherof as far forth as we do esteem, we have, saving only two, Thom. Salisbury and Edw. Abyn-don, both which are fled, but pursued.

My Lord Chancellor and I are here continuing at London dayly occuppyed, first in procuring their apprehension, and now in examyning, &c. And so, my good Lord, being urged with a weak gouty right-hand to leave wryting, I pray your Lordship to accept these lynes so evill scribled in good part. From my house at Strond, 18th of Aug. 1586.

Your Lordship's most assured,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR WALTER MILDMAY TO LORD BURGHEY.

It may please your good Lordship, the day after I writt to your Lordship, Sir Amias Poulet* sent Mr. Darrell to me, who hath very diligently reviewed the state of Fotheringay Castle,† and considered of all other things touching the provisions. This morning he is returned to Sir Amias, to make report of his doings, wherof I think he will advertise your Lordship, and thereupon as your Lordship shall resolve, so will I be ready to do anything that may be in me for the furtherance of her Majestie's service. Untill which tyme I will trouble your Lordship no longer, but expect what your finall resolutions shall be herin, and so humblie commend your Lordship to the mercyfull protection of the

* Who had the custody of the Queen of Scots.

† The conspiracy mentioned by Lord Burghley in the preceding page, was the dangerous and celebrated plot which cost Mary her life. She was to all intents and purposes the principal in this conspiracy, the object of which was to murder Queen Elizabeth and her principal councillors, to raise the papists, and let in the Spaniards, and the end would have been what the Earl of Sussex terms on another occasion, "a black and bloody day in England." The plot was betrayed to Walsingham, and the letters of the conspirators and of Mary herself intercepted, many of which are preserved, and show clearly that the vast preparations of the Spaniards were connected with it, and that they were much disconcerted by its discovery. By one of Mary's letters in the Museum, it appears that the Spaniards were to be ready for the invasion of England in concert with the explosion of her plot, during the same August it was discovered, so that it is by no means improbable that the Spanish fleet which we shall shortly hear of on the coast of France, had some connexion with it. A very clear account of the plot is given by Camden. The Queen of Scots, after her papers, &c. had been seized, was taken to Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, which at the time of this letter was preparing for her reception.

Lord Almighty, From Althorp,* the second of September.
1586.

Your good Lordship's ever to command,
WA. MILDMAY.

RECORDER FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Right honourable and my singular good Lord, this present daie, from two of the clocke untill six, my Lord Maior with some of his brethren, th'Aldermen, and myselfe, dyd examyne certaine apprentices for conspiring an insurrection in this cittie against the Frenche and Dutche, but speciallie against the Frenche, all things as lyke unto Yll May Daye,† as could be devised in all manner of cyrcumstances, *mutatis mutandis*; they wanted nothing but execution. We have taken fyve, all of an age, yet all under 21, four of them Darbishire borne, the fyfte borne in Norhamshire. We are searching and seeking for the principall captayne. We hope we shall heare of him this present night, for he hath bene working all this day in the Whyt Hall at Westminster, and at his coming home we trust to have him. We have this night sett a standing watche armed from nyne untill seven in the morninge, and do meane to contynue the same so long as it shall be thought convenient unto your Honor, and the resydue of my Lords.

Mr. Alderman Woodcocke, who married the wydowe of Mr. Lanyson, shall be buried uppon Mondaye next. Sir Rowland Hayward is extreme sicke, and greatly distressed; (our Lord comfort him!); my Ladie his wife is likewise verie sicke.

* Sir Walter's seat, in Northamptonshire.

† The bloody insurrection against the strangers by the apprentices of London, on the first of May, 1517, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was thus designated. A detailed account of it will be found in all the old chronicles. It was long preserved in remembrance by a ballad bawled about the streets, of which copies are still preserved.

This night Mr. Attorney Generall sent his man unto me to sett my hand and seale unto a warrant to summon a quest of enquire to appeare to-morrow at Westminster Hall. The citizens, when they shall heare of it, will lyke thereof verie well, for they all crye owt that justice may be done uppon those traitors.*

The foresaid apprentices, being of the mysterie of plasterers, are commytted unto Newgate uppon the Quene's Highnes' and her counsell's comandement, where they are lyke to remayne, untill they be delivered by speciall warrant. Here is presentlie no other thing worthie of writing. Wherefore I beseech God to preserve first her Majestie, and then your Lordship, from all those traitors and such other wicked people.

From the Guyld Hall, this present Tewesdaie, the sixt of September, at seven of the clocke in the eveninge, 1586.

Your Lordship's most humblie bounden,

W. FLETEWODE.

At the sending away of my man this Weddensday morning, all the bells of London do ring for joye, that, upon the 7th of this monethe, being as this daie, Ao. 25, H. 8,† her Grace was borne. There will be this daie but specially great feastings at supper. I have been bidden owt this night to supper in six or seven places.

THE MASTER OF GRAY‡ TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.§

Sir, because I am shortly to send Roger with his Majestie's letters to you, I will not write at length. Ye do evil that

* The persons concerned in Babington's conspiracy.

† The 7th of September, 1533.

§ Now ambassador in England.

‡ This person, already so often mentioned as acting a prominent part in the Scottish affairs, was Patrick Gray, eldest son of Patrick, sixth Lord Gray of Scotland, by a daughter of Patrick, Lord Ruth-

taxis the Secretary with any matter by letter to his Majestie ; for sic dealing of necessitie must nedis have good men and wel-willers to comment on, or than evil-willers makis evil constructions. His Majestie by Roger is to wryte to the Quene congratulatorie, to my Lord Leicester and Sir Francis, I believe to the Tresaurer, so he has promissit to me. As for the first part touching the conspiracie, I cannot now write atlength, bot diferris it til I send Roger ; yet this far I advertis you, that the King is wel willit in all thingis as ye left him, and verie glade of the discoverie of this mater. But his opinion is that it cannot stand with his honour, that he be a consenter to tak his mother's lyfe, bot he is content how strictly she be keipit, and all her auld knaifish servantis heingit,¹ chiefly they who be in handis. For this you must deal verie warely to eschue inconvenientis, seeing necessitie of all honest men's affairs requiris that she war out of the way. I committis you to God. From Dumf. this 8th of September, 1586.

Your affectionate friend,

MASTER OF GRAY.

THE MAYOR AND SEARCHER OF RYE TO LORD COBHAM.

It may please your Honor, that uppon Sunday last past, being the fourth of this moneth, came over John Baptista Helman, and Samuell Daniell, servante unto my Lorde Stafford, her Majestie's embassadour in France, and in their company one that said his name was Julio Marino, an Italian, but it is said his name is Renney, and a poysoner, servaunte unto the Quene-Mother. This man, it is now informed us,

ven. He was appointed by King James, chief gentleman of his bed-chamber, master of his wardrobe, and commendator of the monastery of Dunfermline. He was employed more than once as ambassador to the Queen of England. He became Lord Gray in 1609, and died in 1612.

¹ Hanged.

since his departure, by the Frenche, that he poysoned the olde Quene of Navar.

Such persons are greatlie to be feared, and therefore, according to our duties, we have sent this expresse messenger t'advertise your Honor therof, as the partie may be looked unto. Thus we commytt your Honour unto God. From Rye, the 9th of September.

Your Honor's most humble to be commaunded,

THOMAS ADOLPHE, Maior.

HEN. GAYMER.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO LORD BURGHELEY.

It may please your Honor, uppon the receipt of your Honor's letters of the counsell of the 8th of this instant, wherby I was advertised of th'arrivall of the Spanishe fleete in Fraunce, and of some suspicion to be had of their invasion into Englande, I thought good, besides my generall aunswer to my Lords of the Counsell's letters, to write particularlie unto your Honor, touching the readynesse of the country that they might be able to withstande any sodayne attempt, although it be not in such state as I could wishe, by reason that my Lord Marquis and I have not yet mett together, (as I certified your Honor in my former letters of the 7th of this instant,) yet have we taken such order with the justices of the peace of every division of this shire, to muster, view, and certify the number of men both trayned and untrayned, and given warning that they sholde be in readynesse uppon any occasion of service, and the like view to be taken of the demi-launces and light horsemen, as I trust the country will be in a reasonable good forwardnes, the defect wherof shall be amended at our next meeting and conference, if not in the mean tyme, and if there shall be any lett or defect therein, it will proceede from your Honors, for that we be neyther from you directed how we shall proceede, neyther

do we know or can agree what will be best. Whereas your Honors of the counsell wrote that certaine skyffes and small boates sholde be prepared and sent forthe for discoverie, your Honor shall understande, that I have prepared a barck, which by God's grace shall sett saile owt of this harbour this night or to-morrow morning betymes, which shall awayte contynuallie whither the fleet goeth, and bring intelligences therof, as wynde and weather will permitt, and if it so happen by reason of contrarie wyndes they may not put in, then have I taken order with them, that by a certaine signe of fyre made in the shipp I shall understande their whole intent and purpose.

I doubt not but as wynde and weather will serve to have good intelligences from tyme to tyme of the fleete by this barck, which as I receive I will advertise your Honor of. I wrote unto your Honors of the counsell and to your Lordship particularlie in my last letters, for certaine necessaries to be presentlie sent downe to Portismowthe, wherof I have as yet received no aunswer, and the necessitie of those thinges is verie great, speciallie of the armorers and things pertayning to the armory, the fyre works and things necessarie for them, and also for small shott and for the ordynance; I have bulwarcks and places enow to plant ordynance in, but I have no ordynance, and so the place for the want therof standeth verie naked and ungardable. Yet hath my lieutenant planted for defence all the ordynances he could borrow: wherfore I pray your Honor to be a meanes that these things maie be speedilie sent downe as the necessitie of the case requireth. And even so not doubting of your Honor's speciall furtheraunce in all these causes, I most humblie commytt your Honor to God.

From Portismowthe, this 10th of September, 1586.

Postscript.—After the writing herof I received your Honor's letter of the 10th of this instant, by my man, wherby I perceive that my man delivering my letter forgot the delivering of the memoriall, who was only willed to deliver it unto

yourself, praying your Honor to beare with his negligence therein: giving your Honor most hartie thanks uppon the sight therof for the speedie acquainting their Honors therewith, wherby I hope the sooner to have supplie for all necessaries. As I mynde to staye the proceeding with the cittadell for this point, so am I carefull to fortify for defence of sodayne, wherin I have great lack of Peerse the engineer, for that neyther is that accomplished which sholde have bene fynished, neyther yet will the charges of the estimate come neere the performances therof; neverthelesse I will proceede therein as well for safetie and defence, as also the same to be orderlie done with least charge, to the best of my skill. I most humblie thank your Honor that you will procure the warrants for 300 labourers, whom I hope to employ as occasion shall serve, as they shall not only serve the towne for labourers, but also for defence, and so both turnes to be served with one charge. If your Honor can procure the fynding of a pynasse here, it will be much for her Majestie's service, for that I fynde whole fleets will rather vayne to one of the Quene's Majestie's than to twenty others. Thus resting at your Honor's commandement, with my most humble thanks, I commytt your Honor to God.

Your Honor's most humbly to command,

SUSSEX.

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, Mr. Wylkes is come, wherby her Majesty falleth into consideration of the state of those countreyes, which surely requireth no small consultation. The let wherof is at this tyme more than is convenient, that we of the counsell are thoroughly occupied, some at London, some here, and some abroad, to deale partly in tryall of traytors, in searching for more, in looking to the sea-coastes

to withstand the landing of certain Spanish shippes of war which are come to Brest; but as yet we know not to what end. Some thynk they come to have bene in readyness to have landed in ayde of this late conspiracy intended, some to joyne with the French for recovery of Rochell. Within a few dayes we shall see what they meane.

I understood your Lordship did secretly stay amongst others my son from going to the assalt of Dewsbergeh.* I do thank your Lordship therfor, although I can be content that both he and I shold spend our lyves for the Quene and our contrye, but I wish it in a matter of more moment; and yet I judg the wyning of that town very necessary as the tyme was, but most of all if therby Zutphan might be gotten, which I thynk must be by peril of famyne.

The Quene of Scotts is lykely to come to Fodrynghay Castel the 27th hereof, and I thynk a number of the counsellors and others of the nobilitie shall have commission,† according to the late statute 27°, to heare and judg her cause there, so as in the next Parlement, to begyn uppon a new summons the 15th of October, furder order may be taken with that Quene, according to part of her deserts. Your Lordship and I were very great motes in the traytors' eies,

* The English army came before Dowsborough on the 30th of August, and the place surrendered on the 2nd of September. In this siege the Earl of Leicester narrowly escaped being killed by a cannon-shot, which wounded the Lord Marshall, Sir William Pelham.

† The commissioners for the trial of the Queen of Scots were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Burghley, the Marques of Winchester, the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Warwick, Pembroke, Leicester, Lincoln, Viscount Montague, Lords Howard, Hunsdon, Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham, Stafford, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Sturton, Sands, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Bletso, Buckhurst, Compton, Cheiney, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary Davison, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Poulet, Secretary Wolley, Judges Wray, Anderson, Manwood, Gawdy, and Periam.

for your Lordship there and I here shold fyrst about one tyme have bene kylled. Of your Lordship they thought rather of poysoning than slaying. After we two gone, they purposed her Majestie's death. But God, our defender, hath graciously prevented their mallyce, and I hope will continue his favor to make voyd the reliques of their mallyce.

I will not fayle but remember your Lordship's reasonable sute for the forfeited lease of Salisbury at Denbigh, being the land your Lordship

I can write no more at this tyme, wishing to heare some comfortable news of Berk,* either of freedom from the siege, or reasonable composition for our people there.

From Wyndsor, 15th of Sept. 1586.

Your Lordship's most assuredly,

W. BURGHLEY.

Seaburo, the Spanyard, hath bene ready this month to be sent to your Lordship, and so I told Mr. Dudley three weeks past.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO ARCH. DOUGLAS.

My Lord, I resavit your letter the 28th, datit the 21st. His Majestie is very well content with all your proceedings, but chiefly touching his boukis' and hunting horses. I pray you negotiate so well that ye fail not to effectuate substantially that point. As for his mother, his command is, you do as he gave your nephew Richard instruction. I can assure you he is content the law go forwart, her life being save, and would gladely wyssh that all foraine princes should know how evil she has usit herself towards the Quene's Majestie there,

* The Prince of Parma had laid siege to this town in August.

' Bucks.

and that she resavis favour through her clemencie. I com-
mit your Lordship to God.

From Falkland, this 29th of September, 1586.

Your Lordship's as is awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

SIR W. STANLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.*

I thought it my dutie to make knownen to your Excellencie,
in the absence of the Lord Marshall, of such service as hap-

* The siege of Zutphen, which was commenced on the 15th of Sep-
tember, will be ever famous for the death of Sir Philip Sydney. The
present letter gives us a brief account of one of the many gallant ex-
ploits performed there by our countrymen. It was in a severe en-
gagement, on the 22nd of September, that Sir Philip Sydney fell.

"The 22nd of September," says Stowe, "was the most brave fight
performed of our side that could be. The enemy this night put into
Suthfield (Zutphen) some hundred wagons with victuals, which being
perceived, streightwayes Sir William Stanley went with his own com-
pany, which were some 200, to stand as a bascado, Sir John Norris
overtooke him, being sent to the service, and said to Sir W. Stanley,
'There hath bene,' said he, 'some words of displeasure betweene you
and me, but let all passe, for this day we both are employed to serve
her Majestie; let us be friends, and let us die together in her Ma-
jestie's cause.' Quoth Sir W. Stanley, 'If you see me not this day,
by God's grace, serve my prince with a valiant and faithful courage,
account me for ever a coward, and if neede be I will die by you in
friendshippe.' Thus the long quarrell, begunne in Ireland, was here
ended with such friendship as made all men rejoyce; both of them
served so forwardly this day, that the one could not tell much how to
commend the other, only the one served with footemen, the other with
horse. Sir W. Stanley marched with his footemen, but the enemy was
come to the church where our men had at the first placed themselves.
There was of the enemy 2,200 muskets and 800 pikes, which were
enow to gard the place of their refuge, to wit, the intrenched church.
The Lord Audley, with some hundred and fiftie men, by great suite
made to his Excellency, attained at length to goe, who made so great
haste, that he overtoke Sir William Stanley ere the skirmish began,

pened to us since his departure to Deventour. Wednesday, being the 19th of this month, the enemy sallied out of the towne to the number of 3000, and entred into our old

which was hot, but the Lord Audley and Sir William Stanley, not liking the hot volies of musket shot, pressed neare the enemy, and themselves at the push of their pike with their men, put the whole company to retreat to the hold, which done, they retired a little back out of the musket shot, and there made a stand. The Earle of Essex, lord generall of the horse, the Lord Willoughby, Sir William Russell, and Sir John Norris, with their cornets, came to charge the enemy. There were of the enemy fifteen cornets, of which five or six were Albanoyes, the rest were Spaniards or Italians. The Albanoyes issued, which our men charged so furiously, that it was thought at the first shock there were a thirtie or fortie of the enemies overthrowne; then our men went to the curtelax, which they so furiously plyed, that the enemy, after some three-quarters of an houre, retreated to their pikes, losing of foote and horsemen, as the prisoners since taken confesse, besides hurt, an hundred men of their bravest, amongst which was the County Anoaball, also Captaine George, the commander of all the Albanoyes, was taken prisoner, besides neare twentie commaunders, some captaines, some ensigne-bearers, lieutenants, and other officers. But to Sir John Norris he gave the first charge, who, with his pistol in his hand, offered to discharge it on a brave man, but his pistol would not go off, which he seeing, stroke it on the head of his enemy and overthrew him. The Lord Willoughby, with his launce in his rest, met Captayne George and unhorsed him, so that he fell into a ditch, and cryed to the Lord Willoughby, 'I yield your prisoner, for that you be a seemely knight;' (this he spoke in French;) the Lord Willoughby came not to take prisoners, but passed on with his curtelax in his hand, and his whole cornet after so furiously, that it was wonder to see; the Lord Willoughby was so forward that often times, but twice especially, he was like to be taken prisoner, his basses were pulled off from him, but rescued by our side. When the skirmish was done, and all retreated, Captain George being in his Excellencie's tent, would not graunt to be prisoner to any but to him who unhorsed him, whom he knew if he saw him in his armour. The Lord Willoughby came in armed. 'This is the knight that I am prisoner to, and I yield to him,' said he; so the Lord Willoughby had the prisoner adjudged to be his. The 3. the Earle of Essex, charged with

trenche, and came on with great fury to our new work at the bridge end, and by good happ I was coming over at that instant, not being above 300 men in our new skonce, but God and we put them to retyre, and yet they gave two fresh charges with great fury, but we put them in the end to retyre on heapes, with the losse of fewe. They retyred to their olde skonce, where in like manner with Captain Parker, Sir Edward Stanley, and my kerne, we put them to the towne gates. Our horsemen had the killing of their footemen into their gates. Captain Parker did shewe such valour in that chardge, as they thought him more than a man, and had but only two killed in that charge.

And thus, most humbly commending my service to your Excellencie, and praying to God for your happie estate, I

his cornet, who so encouraged his men, 'For the honor of England,' said he, 'my fellows follow me,' and with that he threw his launce in his rest, and overthrew the first man, and with his curtelax so behaved himselfe that it was wonder to see. Sir William Russell, with his cornet, charged so terribly, that after he had broke his lance, he with his curtelax so plaid his part, that the enemy reported him to be a devil, and not a man, for where he saw six or seven of the enemies together, thither woulde he, and so behaved himself with his curtelax, that he woulde separate their friendship. Amongst the rest, Sir Philip Sidney so behaved himself that it was wonder to see, for he charged the enemy thrise in one skirmish, and in the last charge he was shott through the thigh, to the great grief of his Excellencie and the whole campe, who being brought to my lord-lieutenant, his Excellencie said, 'O Philip, I am sorry for thy hurt;' and Sir Philip answered, 'O my Lord, this have I done to do your Honour and her Majestie servise.' Sir William Russell coming to him, kissed his hand, and said with teares, 'O noble Sir Philip, there was never man attayned hurt more honorably than ye have done, nor any served like unto you.' He was conveyed to Arnem, where he continued till his ende in such kinde of godly behaviour, that both the preacher did wonder at it, and the chirurgions did admire, the one seeing his wise godlinessse, the other his valiant courage, with patience to abide all kinde of paines."

take leave. At the campe of Sutphen, the 20th of October, 1586.

Your Excellencie's most faithful for ever,

W. STANLEY.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO SIR EDWARD STAFFORD.

Sir, the principall cause of this dispatch unto you is to make you acquainted with our proceedings here in the Scottish Quene's cause, since the departure of Mr. Wotton. And therefore you shall understand, that upon the 11th of this month the comissioners came to Foderinghay, and began the assembly there on the 12th, at which tyme some of the comissioners were chosen out to repaire unto the Scottish Queene to let her understand the occasion of our coming thither, and to signify unto her, that according to her Majestie's letters written to herself, and the direction given to us, we were ready to heare what she would answer to such matters as she was to be charged with. Hereunto she then alledged, first, that she was an absolute princesse, and therefore exempted from answering to the lawes of any other country, secondly, that she wanted counsell to answer for her, she herself being altogether ignorant in our lawes. And in these termes she stood, both that day and the next day following, which was the 13th. But in th'end, when it was shewed unto her both by the judges of this realme, and by certayn learned in the civil lawe, that for her first pointe, her prerogative of being an absolute Queene could not in this case serve her for a privilege against the lawes of this realme, but that all persons, of what high calling soever, remayning in other princes' domynions, and committing an offence against the said prince, were subject to the lawes of the place where the offence was committed; and that touching the second pointe, forasmuch as it was a matter *de facto*, and not *de jure*, and altogether concerned a cri-

minall cause, she neither needed nor ought to be allowed counsaill in the answering thereof. She was at length contented to appear and answer before the commissioners, and so both on the 14th and 15th came forth publicquely into the place appointed for that purpose; and there, not supposing to have had the matter so plainly and directly proved against her, as it was as well by Babington's examination as her own secretary's voluntary confessions, and divers other circumstances wherewith Mr. Wotton hath already acquainted you, she had in the ende and in effect no other defence to alledge for herself, but only a bare and naked deniall. And after we had heard all that she could say, it was thought convenieat, in respect the matter touched a person of her qualitie, to dismisse the assembly there, and to adjourn the commission until the 25th, to the end, in the meantyme, the matter might be more advisedly and deliberately considered of. At which day the commissioners mett againe in the Starre-chamber, and there, after a repetition made by the Quene's learned counsaile of that which had passed before in this matter, the Scottish Quene's two secretaries were brought forth before the Lords, and openly affirmed as much *viva voce* as they had before deposed in writing, which brought a great satisfaction to all the commissioners, inasmuch that albeit some of them, as you knowe, stood well affected to her, yet considering the playnnes and evidence of the proofs, every one of them* after this gave their sentence against her, fynding her not only accessary and privy to the conspiracy, but also an imaginer and compasser of her Majestie's destruction.

About two dayes before our last assemply at the Starre-chamber, the Frenche ambassador being denied audience here, wrote a letter to her Majestie for the staying of our proceedings against the Scottish Quene; but it was answered by

* To understand the importance of this circumstance, the list of commissioners given in the note, at p. 314, of this volume, must be kept in mind.

her Majestie that it was not convenient to stay the proceedings, and hoped that the King his master would not be an intercessor in that behalf, and if he should, she could not but take it unkindly at his hands.

And where there hath been an uncertain report spreade abroad touching a conflict happened the 22nd of September, betwene the Englishe and Spanishe troupes neare unto Zutphen, wherein it hath bene given out that the Spaniards had the better, I have thought good to send you here enclosed a copie of the reporte which I receyved from the Lord Wyloughby touching the truth and manner of that conflict.

Upon the same 22nd day of September, Sir Richard Bingham obtayned a notable victory in Irelande, against the Scotts in Connaught, who with the helpe of some Irishe rebelles invaded that province. But Sir Richard being accompanied only with four hundred footmen and one hundred horsemen, marched against them, and put one thousand six hundred of them to the sworde, which is the greatest overthrowe that hath bene given in Ireland these many yeres, and must needes bring a wonderfull quietnes to all that country.*

The parliament beginneth at Westmynster the 30th of this present. And so praying you to communicate the contents of this letter with Mr. Wootton, I bidd you hartely farewell. From Barn-Elms, the 27th of October, 1586.

Your assured loving frende,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

W. DAVISON TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My singular good Lord, her Majestie was so much afflicted with sorrow when she dispatched Mr. Gorge, for the loss of her deare servant, and your Lordship's dearest nephew, Sir

* See for a full account of this affair Stowes' Chronicle in this year.

Philip Sidney,* as she forgatt to touch some things in those her letters, which since it hath pleased her I should remember unto you. One is the care she hath that, before your Lordship's returne thence, you should take such provident order for the settling of that government in your absence, as may be most for the surety of the cause and her own particular service; wherin, because she doubteth how it may stand with the one or other, that the government *martiall* should be commytted to any one of her servants there, and the *civill* left to the disposition of the estates, (a thing bruted here,) she would wish, notwithstanding the leave she hath by her letters given your Lordship to returne when you think good, that if your health may permytt it, you should in any wise stay the arryval of my Lord Gray, whom her Majesty promiseth very faithfully, and is resolved to dispatch thither with all th'expedition that may be for your releasement. The reasons that move her Majestie herin, amongst others, are the doubt she hath of any sound correspondence betwixt these different governors and governments, *civill* and *martiall*, in the hands of persons which, perhaps, may have different respects, ends, and affections, the emulation and faction that may grow amongst her own servants, if one, as Sir William Pelham or Sir John Norrys, be preferred before the other, and inconvenient otherwise in case they should be both conjoined together, considering how rare a thing it is to fynd colleagues and companyes in authority soundly to agree together. Though of the two, her Majestie would lyke best of the latter way, if you find it so expedient. The danger may otherwise grow to her service if the charge of these things should be left to any stranger, as to the Count Maurice, as well in regard of his general pretention and particular interest to the towne of Flushing, as the bad disposi-

* Sir Philip died of his wound on the 15th of October. His body was brought to London, where it arrived on the 5th of November, and was buried with great splendour.

tion and offices of some ill-affected to her service, which of late have wholly guided and possessed him. Besides, other perills may growe to the common cause by your absence, if things be not all the better and more seasonably provided for. Another thing, and not the least, is her Majestie's particular care of the state of Flushing, which the love and respect of your Lordship's deare nephew hath hitherto kept, as she confesseth, in the better devotion towards her, and because she feareth his loss in that behalf may be followed with some notable dishonor and prejudice to her service, if your Lordship should not take all the better order before your coming thence; her Majestie hath thought it very expedient that you commend the charge therof to the Lord Willoughby, as a gentleman, for his calling, valour, and fashion, agreeable to the humor of that people, very fitt for it, if your Lordship fynd no other cause to the contrary than she is yet acquainted with. And thus much her Highnes' pleasure is I should signify to your Lordship in her name, wherwith I will recommend your Lordship to the protection of the Almighty, and so most humbly take my leave. At the Courte at Richmond, this 4th of November, 1586.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandement,

W. DAVISON, Secr.

Your Lordship's presence here were more than needful for the great cause* now in hand, which is feared will receive a colder proceeding then may stand with the surety of her Majestie and necessitie of our shaken estate.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

I humbly beseeche your Lordship that this bearer may receive your honourable assistance in the recovery of such imprests as have bene made by his late master unto such as

* The trial of the Queen of Scots.

served under him. Sir Philip hath left a great number of poor creditors.* What order he hath taken by his wyll for their satisfaction I knowe not. It is true, that immediately after the deathe of his father, he sent me a letter of attorney for the sale of such portion of lande as might content his creditors, wherin there was nothing done before his deathe. I have payde, and must paye, for hym above 6000*l.*, which I do assure your Lordship hath brought me into a most harde and desperate state, which I weigh nothing in respect of the losse of the gentleman, who was my chiefe worldly comforte. Sorry I am to take any occasion to revyve the memory of him to the renewing of your Lordship's grieffe, for the which I praye pardon. And so I most humbly take my leave. At Barne-Ealmes, the 5th of November, 1586.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

LORD BURLEIGH TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, this gentleman, Mr. Gorge, cometh thitherward with such hast, as I have no lesure to wryte as otherwise I wold, but briefly I have, according to your Lordship's late letter, moved her Majestie for your Lordship's lycence to return, wherto her Majestie is of herself very willing, as well for the desyre she hath to see your Lordship, as for the dowl she also hath that this wynter season you might fall into some sycknes, but yet herewith she is also very carefull how those countries may be governed, without harm to the public cause, and how her own army, consyisting of her people, might also be ruled and directed, of both which, though her Majestie hath had some kynd of speeches, yet she myndeth not to make any resolution but by your Lordship's advyse. Yet for the government of her army, I

* Another letter of Walsingham to Leicester on the subject of Sir Philip Sydney's debts, is printed in Ellis, vol. iii. p. 14.

perceave she will lay the charge uppon my Lord Gray, who will shun it, I am sure, as much as he may, and yet I have perswaded her Majestie to encoradg hym, with remission of an Irish debt that in conscience he ought not to paye.

I told Mr. Gorge by speeche, that seeing there is treasure sent over, wherof your Lordship had no knolledg at your late wryting, I wold wish your Lordship to see the same or the greater part issued out, where is most nede, but specially to make full payes to some day certain. For the government of the country there in your Lordship's absence, we here cannot gyve advyse, but considering your Lordship's great experience there, whatsoever your Lordship shall declare to be mete, I will assent therto, and by my advyse to her Majestie funder it as reason is. Some spoke of naming Count Morrice to be governor, alone in your absence, and as to have the rule under your Lordship; some wish that the Count Morrice should be joyned with the Lord Graye. The Quene's Majestie wold that it was in the States' direction agayn, as it was before they remitted it to your Lordship, with the direction of Lord Gray, as lieutenant of her army; but surely I feare greatly the success hereof, for the generall evill opinion conceived, both by the people and the men of warr, agaynst the particular persons representing the States, except there might be a new election by the severall provynces of new and more upright persons to represent the States.

My Lord, though presently it semeth your Lordship to be grieved with the sundry myslykings of her Majestie, signyfyed by her present letters for sundry things, wherof your Lordship hath sufficient matter to dischargd yourself, yet I dowt not uppon your Lordship's return to her presence, she will be fully satisfyed by your Lordship's own good answers, for so I myself do conceive the issue will so be proved. And by reason of Mr. Gorge's hasty departure, I am compelled to end. From Westminster, the 9th of November, 1586.

Yesterday all our commissioners profest our sentence against the Scottish Quene with one full assent, but I feare more slackness in her Majestie than will stand either with her surety or with ours. God direct her heart to follow faythfull counsell.

Your Lordship's most assured to my power,
W. BURGHLEY.

SIR HENRY WIDDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

It may please your Honor, the 6th of this present instant, late at night, I receaved forth of the court of Scotland these intelligences, which I do assure your Lordship I am credibly informed of by one of no smalle account in courte, and are as followeth.

The nobilitie of Scotland are summoned, and have general warning to be on Satterday next at Edenbroughe to convene in counsell with the King, beginning on Monday next, and are to continue three dayes in counsell, which is to conclude with a generall consent, that if the Quene of Scotts be put to deathe, the King will gyve up the peace with her Majestie, and make warre with England.*

The King showeth himself nowe at this present to be greatly discontented to heare that the Quene his mother should dye. And yet it cometh not all of himself, but he is

* The behaviour of King James on this occasion, as on many others, was most contemptible. However guilty the Queen of Scots was, and of her extreme guilt, with our documentary evidence, no reasonable person can doubt, her son ought to have shown filial sentiments. Yet in the British Museum we have original letters of the French King and his ministers, stigmatizing in the most severe terms his callousness, and urging him to take the part of his mother, both by threats and promises of assistance. He was at length persuaded to assume a threatening attitude, but it was a character so ill supported, that Elizabeth, not much accustomed to be disturbed by threats, paid in this instance very little attention to them, though she was herself adverse to severe proceedings against her unfortunate but guilty enemy.

both threatened and forced by his nobilitie to enter in the action against her Majestie and this realme, if his mother dye.

* * * *

Barwicke, the 7th of December, 1586.

Your Honor's most humble,

HENRY WIDDRINGTON.

THOMAS WYLKES* TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

May it please your most excellent Majestie, there hath bene of late by chance taken neer the town of Bruxelles by certain horsemen of the garison of Bergues op Zoom, a gentleman sent from the King of Denmark to the Duke of Parma, who, as it appeareth, had received his dispatch from the Duke, and was returning towards Denmark. The gentleman is son to one Henry Ranzoveus, a principal man about the King; though here in his legation meanly accompanied, having but one man. At the time of his taking he was assaulted only with three soldiers, against whom he put himself in defence, not manifesting what he was, whereby he was the more rudely intreated by the soldiers, and rifled of all that he had, and of such letters and dispatch as he had immediately before received from the Duke, which, with as little good manners, they opened and perused; and finding many of them to be of importance, they sent them hither to be visited by the council, among which there was one wrytten from the Duke to the King, whereof it was thought fit to take a copy, because the same concerned the affaires of these countries, containing a purpose between the

* Thomas Wylkes was secretary at first to Dr. Dale, the Queen's ambassador in France in the year 1573. He was afterwards divers times employed ambassador to Spain, to the Spanish Netherlands, to France, knighted by the French King for a comfortable message he privately brought him from the Queen twenty-five years before, when he was King of Navarr, and under restraint. He dyed in an embassy in France, 1597.

King and the Duke to treat of a peace, as will appear by the tenor of the letter, a copy of the which I thought convenient to address only to your Majestie. The States and counsell here are not well pleased with the King's proceedings therein, in respect that the same is taken in hand by him without their privitie; and that they find by experience, as they allege, that the onely brute of a peace here will open a gap to the worse affected (who are many in number) untimely to practise among the common people, to draw their affections thereunto, before it might be assured that the King would yield to the point of religion, without which there is no hope of peace. And therefore the onely overture of a pacification is likely to be of a dangerous consequence to these countryes.

They say further, that by the like experience they see, that albeit the King should assent to the allowance of their privileges, as in the time of Charles V., yet is there no hope of his performance therof, because in the rest of the provinces now under the government of the Spanish King, the contracts and promises of privileges are in no sort observed.

A third poynt there is wherein your Majestie is principally interested, and from which their safety cannot be severed, which is the consideration how your Majestie's state may be secured, if these countries shall come to be under the rule and disposition of Spain. These thinges being of so great moment, and wherupon the States and counsell here do ground their difficulties of peace, I could not, in discharge of duty, omit to report unto your Majestie, to whose princely and grave consideration I do with all humility refer them. In the mean tyme, the counsell of State are advising to excuse the accident of the taking of the King's ambassador, which they hope to do to his good satisfaction; and withal to pray his Majestie not to procede in treating with the Duke of Parma, without their privity and assent, laying before him the dangers and difficultyes like to ensue therof, in case, before he begin, the King shall not accord them the

poynnt of religion, which they believe he never will do. And so I beseech Almighty God long to preserve your Majestie. At the Hague, the 19th of January, 1586.

Your Majestie's most humble and obedient servant and subject,

THO. WYLKES.

THE MAYOR OF EXETER* TO LORD BURGHELY.

Our duties moste humbly remembred, with our moste humble and hartie thanks to your good Lordshipp, may it please your Honor to be advertized, we received, the seconde of this Februarye, about the hour of one in th'afternoone, a precepte herein enclosed for hue and crye to be made touching the staying of the Quene of Scotts, which, according to the same, we, fearing the worste, did presentlie dyspatch, notwithstanding the simplenes of the inditing of the same, and th'order therof without hande or seale of any counsellor or justice, hoping in God that the contents therof are untrue. And for that we heare no further certaynty of the contents therof, and do perceyve that the rumour therof, with the watching, warding, and searching hereuppon, which as yet we continewe, if the same come of any pollicy of the enemyes to her Majestie, may breede some trouble or inconvenience to the countrey, we moste humbly pray to be advertised of the certayntie hereof, and to be directed from your Honor what is further to be done therin. And so commytting you to the Almightie, who preserve you eternally, we most humblie take our leave.

Exon, the 3d of Februarie, 1586.

Your Honor's moste humbly to be commanded,

GEORGE SMITHE, Maior.

NYCHOLAS MARTYN.

THOMAS BRERETON.

* The following letters give us a curious picture of the state of excitement throughout the kingdom, after the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and the trial of the Scottish Queen, when all kinds of rumours were eagerly received and credited.

Hue and Crye.

These are to charge you in her Majestie's name, upon payne of death, to make diligent search and hue and crye for the Quene of Scotts, who is fledd, and to laye all high wayes, and staye all barkes and shipping in your harbours, for that the direction came from Mr. Howard, Esquier; so you kepe a standing watche daye and night, untill you receyve order to the contrarye, and lett this be done by the chiefe of your parishe.

This second of Februarie, anno 1586. Received into Honyton, at 11 of the clocke in the forenoone, this present Thursday.

THOMAS WARD, Constable of Honyton.

This hue and crye to go to the Mayor of Exeter, and so forth.

Received by David Colles, of Honyton, the second of Februarie, abowte one of the clocke in the afternoone, into Exon.

THE MAYOR OF EXETER TO THE COUNCIL.

Right honourables, having receyved hue and crye that her Majestie's Citty of London by the enemyes is set on fyre, and therby are commanded to have our men and armor in readynes upon payne of death, in great haste, as by a coppie of the same precept of hue and crye which is herein enclosed appeares, we, hoping in God that the same premisses are untrue, and yet fearing the worste, have caused our men and armor accordingly to be in readynes, have thought good to address this bearer to your Honors for the certayne knowledge of the premisses, praying your Honors to vouchsafe to sende us direction in the premisses, and thus most humble take our leave.

Exon, the 4th of Februarye, at the hour of one in the nighte, 1586.

Your Honors' most humble to be commaunded,
GEORGE SMITHE, Maior of Exon.
NYCHOLAS MARTYN.
THOMAS BRERETON.
RYCHARD PRAY.

Hue and Crye.

These are, in the Quene's Majestie's name, to charge and commaunde, immediately upon sight herof, to sende lyke preceptes four maner of waies, from towne to towne, to make your armor and artillery in readynes, and that with all speed, upon paine of death, for London is set on fyre. For Mr. Turlett of Anstenlewell brought this worde from the Bell, the 1st of Februarie. Sende this to Exeter with all speede.

WILLIAM BOWERMAN, Justice.

This from Sampfield, this 10th inst., Satterdaie, the 4th of Februarie, 1586, at 8 of the clocke in the evening.

Rec. this by the handes of Robert Smythe, of Colompton, the 4th of Februarie, at 10 of the clocke in the night.

WILLIAM MARSTON.
WILLIAM KYRKHAM.
EDWARD HATE.

These are in her Majestie's name straitly to charge and commaund you that upon the sight herof you send like precepte two or three waies, from tithing to tithing, to set your men in armour with all speede uppon paine of death, for London is on fyre. Let this go to Exeter uppon horseback. Hast ! hast ! hast !

THOMAS WARDE, Constable of Honyton.

Received from Mr. Collins, this 4th of Februarie, about 8 of the clocke at night.

Received this by Phillip Balston, of Honiton, vitler, betwixt the hours of 9 and 10.

By me, ROGER CHANDON.

SECRETARY WOLLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Right honorable and my most especiall good Lord, it pleased her Majesty yesterday to call the Lords and others of her counsell before her into her withdrawing chamber, where she rebuked us all exceedingly for our concealing from her our proceeding in the Quene of Scotts' case, but her indignation particularly lighteth most upon my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Davison, who called us together, and delivered the commission. For she protesteth she gave expresse commandement to the contrarie, and therefore hath tooke order for the committing of Mr. Secretarie Davison to the Tower, if she continue this morning in the mind she was yesternight, albeit we all kneled upon our knees to praye to the contrarye. I thinke your Lordship happy to be absent from these broiles, and thought it my dutye to let you understande them. And so in haste I humbly take my leave.

At the courte, this present Sunday, 1586.

Your Lordship's ever most bounden,

J. WOLLEY.

* The Queen having signed the warrant for the execution of Mary, to be ready in case of sudden invasion or rebellion, and given it into the keeping of Secretary Davison, the latter communicated it to the council, who held a secret consultation, and determined, in their zeal for the Queen's service, which they saw in danger so long as the Scottish Queen lived, to take upon themselves the responsibility of putting it in execution. The Queen, when she heard of Mary's death, rebuked her council, and forbad most of them her presence. Davison was imprisoned and severely fined, and never recovered the Queen's favour.

Wolley was one of the Secretaries of State, and a member of the privy council.

LORD SCROPE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

(Extract.)

It may please you, Sir, your letter of the 10th hereof I received at 8 of the clocke yesternight, wherby I understand that execution was done uppon the Scottish Quene the 8th daye of this instant, wherof I am right glad, that the Lord hath supplanted so dangerous a roote, and wish that the branches of so greate perill may wither and perish with her. And concerning your good advice in your said letter, both putting me in mynde of Mr. Secretary Davyson his letter for the strengthening of the borders, and wishing me watchfullie to stand upon good garde for the better defence of these frontiers, untill it may appear what will issue from Scotland uppon this execution, you shall understand that albeit I had purposed to have forborne the gathering together of the 50 horsemen untill Mondaye next, for such causes as by my late letters to Mr. Davyson may appeare, yet nowe, as well in respect of the aforesaid execution, as in regarde both of the dangerous rumours abroad here, and of the great braggs given out heron by our neighbours of Scotland, I am now resolved and will (God willing) both enter the said 50 horsemen into wages to-morrow, and bestowe them in such place as I think meetest to defende the frontier, and so far forth as may be to repell and meete with any sodaine incursion that may be attempted by th'opposite borderer.

(14th Feb. 1586.)

LORD SCROPE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

It may please you, Sir, according to my laste, I addressed a Scotsman unto Edenburgh for th'understanding of th'acceptance of the deathe of the Quene of Scots, with the King and that nation. By which messenger I do perceive, that

when the King understood by Roger Aston, (who returned to him about Wensday last,) that his mother was in truth put to death, he did not onlie take that newes very grevous and offensively, but also gave oute in secrett speeches that he could not disgeste the same, nor leave it unrevenge, as should appear by such good deeds as we should receive at his hands hereafter. And albeit the King and some others be highly offended with us for this execution, yet am I advertised that some of the noblemen (though they seeme malecontents) would not have that tragedie to playe agayne.

It is likewise advertised unto me by good credit, that the King intendeth to depart secretly out of that realme, but for what nation he prepareth himself I do not know. The certentie of these matters I leave to my next herin and your better advertisements from other places.

It is looked that there will be a generall convention of all the noblemen and States of that realme, but the certaine daye of their assemblie in not yet knowne.

The King hath written unto Maxwell, that either himself or some one of good credyt and authorised from him, do make repaire to the court, for that he intendeth to appoint Maxwell warden to these West Marches of Scotland, thinking him the meetest man to have the government therof, and to execute such service as he shall enjoyne him and the present state of matters shall require. And it is thought that Maxwell shall enter his jorney towards the King, uppon Mondaye next, or else will that day send one authorised from him to accept that office, and bring him his patent for the same.

William Carr of Ancrom (one in the murther of the late Lord Russell,) and yonge Fernyhurste gave out that they would be with the Kinge uppon Fryday laste.

All matters on these frontiers rest as yet in good quiet. As anything shall fall out to the contrarie, or any other newes shall come to my knowledge, you shall be advertised therof from tyme to tyme. And so for the present I commit

you to the protection of th'Almighty. From Carlisle, the 21st of Februarie, 1586.

Your assured loving frend at commandement,

H. SCROPE.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, your sharpe humors continue here styll, which doth greatly disquiet her Majestie and discomforte her poore servants that attend here. The Lord Treasurer remayneth styll in dysgrace, and behinde my backe her Majestie giveth out very hard speeches of myself, which I the easier credit for that I fynd in dealing with her I am nothing gracious; and if her Majestie could be otherwyse served, I knowe I shold not be used. I dyd by my other letters acquaint your Lordship with the answer I received from her Highnes touching the request for the 5,000*l*. I mean when any fytt opportunity shall be offered to shewe her the letter you wrote unto me by young Balyse, wherby she may see how greatly your Lordship is disappointed for lacke of the sayd sum.

The Frenche King taketh it very unkyndly that his embassador is denied accesse, wherby he may cleare hymself, as also that D'Etrapes is not sent unto him. If her Majesty had followed the advyse gyven in her behalfe by your Lordship, the Lord Treasurer, and myselfe, I suppose there would have followed some good effect therof. The arrest of our shippes continueth, and Mr. Wade is denied accesse. They of the Leage do greatly labour the King to make himself a party with them, who make their profit of the present unkyndnes between the sayd Kyng and her Majestie. For further particularities touching that country, I refer your Lordship to the inclosed occurrents.

By the inclosed from W. Shute, your Lordship shall see

what passed betweene the King of Navar and the Spaniards, and how things proceede there.

For Scotlande, the Quene's Majestie seemeth to neglecte altogether such opportunityes as are offred, with the which Mr. Archibald Duglas is greatly dyscoraged. Such of that realme as stand yll affected to this crowne, do losse no opportunity that they may work a breache. The present dyscord between her Majestie and her counsell hindereth the necessary consultation that were to be desyred for the preventing of the manifest perrylls that hang over this realme.

It appeareth, by late letters out of the Lowe Countryes, that the foote-bands and horse-bands in her Majestie's paye there are greatly decayed, insomuch as there remayned not of the five thousand footmen not above three thousand, and of the one thousand horse but five hundred. I have acquainted her Majestie herewith, and moved her for a supply; but I fynd her not disposed to resolve therein, and yet is she gyven to understand in what readiness the enemy is to marche. Her Majestie doth wholly bende herself to devyse some further meanes to dysgrace her poore counsell that subscribed, and in respect therof she neglecteth all other causes.

This daye, Mr. Barker delyvered me dyvers letters directed to your Lordship, which I have had no leisure yet to peruse, saving Mr. Atye's, which I send unto your Lordship herewith. To-morrowe I meane to acquaint her Majestie with so many of them as shall importe her servyce, and afterward to send them unto your Lordship. And so I most humbly take my leave. At the Courte, the thirde of Aprill, 1587.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

I pray your Lordship to remember my humble commendations unto the Earle of Warwycke and the Lord Northe.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO LORD BURGHEY.

It may please your Honor, on Monday last, there appeared before this towne foure sailes of shippes, wherof three came owt of Spayne, from St. Lewkers, the fourth an English man-of-warr; which man-of-warr having understanding that one of the said three shippes was laden with Spaniardes' goods, meant to have borded and taken the said shippe, wheruppon the rest associated themselves for defence, and I having some intelligence herof, perceiving them to be somewhat within the shott of the towne, as well for th'avoiding of the conflict or fight, as also to bring them within her Majestie's jurisdiction, where they might have lawe and justice, shott a piece of ordinance at them, which being somewhat shorte they semed not to staye, wheruppon without delay I shott another, which passing over them, caused them presently to beare in towards the harboroughe, where they be safely arryved; unto whom I have shewed such favour, as they be masters and possessors of the goods. Nevertheless I have made a seizure and stay, especially of one shipp called the Tyger of Ripen, in Devonshire, the goods wherof as well by the declaration of Englishe passengers, as also by their owne doubles of certificates, I think will prove Spaniardes' goods, with some letters to Englishmen, to father and colour the same here in England, as by prooffe shall more playnely, I thinke, appeare.

When the master of the shippe, called the Tyger of Ripen, in Devonshire, sawe that the man-of-warr the night before meant to deale with him, he delivered owt parte of his goods, and wold have delivered more, if the skippers of the other shippe had not refused the same, saying "We will no more of your goods, least they be Spaniardes' goods, and that proved, we may lose our goods also." And theruppon the great hulke, called the Black Raven, of Copeman's haven, wolde receyve nothinge, but th'Admiral, called the Dragon of Empden, did receyve certayne parcells, which he hath con-

fessed. There is one Thos. Standlay, a fishmonger, dwelling at the Bellin-gate, who keepeth a tabling-howse for Flemings and straungers, who should be a fatherer and colourer of these goods, who being strictly examined, I thinke will declare the truth, who, if he might be presently sent awaye hither with this bearer and examined, the truth wold the better appeare.

This shippe hath neither charter nor bills of lading, saving certayne bills in print to be delivered at Hambo-roughe. The skipper of this shipp saith, he doth not knowe whether the goods be Spaniards' goods, Englishmen's goodes, or Dutchmen's goodes. The man that laded these goodes in Spayne, is one Mr. Cambray, dwelling at St. Lewkers, and Vanbell, a Fleminge, born at Cambray in Artoys. The English passengers and the pilott of th'other shippe called the Dragon of Empden, said they heard the skipper of the other shippe, called the Tyger, saye that he should put into Dunkercke. I have sent unto your Honor herein inclosed a note or briefe of all the lading that is within the three shippes. Thus having thought good to advertise your Honor of the state of all things here, I committ your Honor unto God. From Portismouthe, the 27th of Aprill, 1587.

Your Honor's assured to his power,
SUSSEX.

Postscript.—I have sent the bearer herof partly instructed in the matter, who, if it please your Honor to give hym audience, he will declare the matter more at large.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I will stop the course of the Earle of Lyncoln's sute for the levetenantship. It were a great wronge unto your Lordship, having your chiefe howse in that countrie, that either he or any other should be preferred before your Lordship.

Yesterdaye, at the earnest request of the Earle of Leicester, I did press her Majestie to growe to some resolution touching his employment, letting her understand that the service could abyde no delay, the harveste approaching so fast on as it doth. But after longe argument, I could draw no conclusion from her. I found some disposition in her, rather to use my cosyn Norryce then the Earl. I dyd humbly pray her, (the matter importing her as it doth,) it myght be considered by certayne of her choyce counsellors, which motion was also rejected. I fynd no dysposition in her Majestie to take any course for the assurance of Scotland. Touching the Chauncellorship of the Dutchy, she told Sir Amias Paulet, that in respect of her promyse made unto me, she would not dyspose of it otherwise. But yet hath he no power to delyver the seales unto me, though for that purpose the attorney is commanded to attend him, who I suppose wyll be dysmissed hence this daye, without any resolution. And so I most humbly take my leave.

At the Court, the 23rd of Maye, 1587.

Your Lordship's to commaunde,
FRA. WALSINGHAM.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.*

My very good Lord, accordingly as I was directed, I acquainted her Majestie with our proceeding at the late conference. She doth nothyng lyke of the resolution. I fynde

* The Earl of Leicester, who had returned from the Low Countries at the latter end of the preceding November, was now again sent to take the government, but he was limited both in authority and force, and great jealousies arising between him and the States, he was unable to perform any successful enterprise, and returned home with disgust. An accusation was brought against him at home of ill-government, but he was sheltered by the favour of the Queen.

she hath had some secret advertisement from Holland, which maketh her to stand upon the 15,000. I advysed her therefore to commyt the direction of the warres there to the author of that counsell, seeing the Earl of Leycester will not undertake it. She hath commanded me to send for him, and sayth he shall go with those forces that she thynketh fyt. I wish your Lordship here, so as it might stand with your healthe, to the end there might be some resolution taken in the great causes.

Her Majestie is pleased that the Earl of Hartford shall proceede in the execution of the wyll, and so is it her pleasure that your Lordship shall direct him. I am commanded to send for the Lord Harrye,* and to let him understande how greatly her Majestie mysliketh of the neglect of your Lordship's advice, and of the contempt of the Earl his brother.

I wyll not be unmyndfull of the request of the alderman of the Stylliarde with the fyrst opportunitie. And so I most humbly take my leave.

At the Courte, the 26th of Maye, 1587.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, touching the letters desired by the Frenche ambassador to be dispatched according to the agreement at the last meeting, I did before my coming from the court give order to Mr. Ward, as well for a letter to be prepared from her Majestie to the states of Zeland, as also for other letters to be written from your Lordship to the Earle of Leycester and Sir William Russell to that effect. I have also written to his Lordship according to the reso-

* The Earl of Hertford's brother.

lution taken by my Lords of the counsell. Notwithstanding the said letters, it is left to his own consideration to do therein as he shall thinke meet, only that the men be well used, and money given them for their corne, if the country stand in need of it. The notes of such matters as were agreed on at the meeting are remayning with Buck, my Lord Admirall's man, who, his Lordship desired, might have the keeping of the same, as register for like causes.

Touching the answers to be made by Sir John Norris, and Mr. Wilkes, I think that Mr. Norris will bring the same with him, and to Mr. Wilkes I have written to prepare his against the tyme appointed by your Lordship.

Your Lordship, by the inclosed from Florence, may perceive howe some stay is made of the former preparations. It seemeth the next year the King of Spayne, and his confederates, are resolved to sett up their case. The only waye to bridle their mallyce is the interrupting of the Indian fleets. I wyshe, therefore, that the employment of Sir Francis Drake had not been so long delayed. The Duke of Parma's proceeding in this treaty of the peace dothe shewe he dothe but dally. It seemeth by Shute's letter, that there is some staye made of the preparations of the ten Biscay shippes.

And so I most humbly take my leave. At Barn-Elmes, the 16th of Julye, 1587.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

I humbly praye your Lordship that Pompees' letter may be reserved to yourself. I would be loth the gentleman, should have any harme through my default.

SIR FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I send your Lordship such letters as I received yesternight late from the Earl of Leycester. I am

sorry to fynd by him so great backwardnes in the States. I feare this devysion between the sayd Earl and them will be the losse of Sluse, or rather of the whole countrey.

And so I most humblie take my leave. At Barne-Elmes, the 20th of Julye, 1587.

Your Lordship's to commaund,
FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR THO. LEIGHTON TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My singular good Lord, having the commoditie of a passage and so convenient a messenger as the bearer herof, Mons. Kenelle, a godly honest minister of this isle, who hath occasion to make a voyage into those parts, I would not faile to acquaint your Excellencie with such intelligence as of late I receaved from certain notable merchants of Brittain, my very friends, which are these. That by letters from sundry of their factors from Calles, Saint Lucar, and other parts of Spaine, they do ascertain that the King of Spaine doth assemble a very greate army at Lisbon, for what purpose is not certainly knowne, but the report is divers, some say for Englande, some for Irland, and some for Brittain, and some for Barbary, and others say to garde the armadas that are to come from the Yndia. But neither of these latter can it be, by reason that the provision is so greate. For it is advertised that there is at Lisbon to the number of 140 greate shippes, besides galliots and other smalle vessells in great number. Furthermore there is sett forth from Calles by the order of the Duke de Medina Sydoynie, 40 greate shippes, 6 galiases of 6 and 9 hundreth tonnes. In these galiases came 1,500 oulde souldiors from Sisille,¹ Naples, and other places, which were presently put into galliots and sent to Lisbon. There are 6 galiases more daily looked for, to come from Levante.

¹ Sicily.

They do account upon 15,000 ould soldiers, Spaniards and Itallians, beside a great number of bisoyns. Also there is pardon offered to all the thieves that lye in the mountains so as they will come in and serve the King in this voyage. These factors write that they have sene laden 6,000 muskets, greate number of cullivers, corslets, pikes, and other munitions. Vitels is at Lisbon most abundant. The army is to be conducted by the Marques Saint Cruse. There is also lately arrived at the courte, 50 capitains Wallons. All this fleete will be in a readiness by the end of this month of July. Your Excellencie shall do well to prepare and put yourself in best order to receive them, for so much the more it is to be doubted that their meaning is for the Low Countries, in that they name so many other places, and say nothing of that which touches them nearest.

* * * * *

At Guernsey, the 28th of July, 1587.

Your Excellencie's most humbly,

THO. LEGHTON.

SIR ROGER WILLIAMS TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

I have all the copies of letters I wrote and received since my coming into the Sluse,* the which do shewe our necessities and wants. Since the loss of the fort we were battered with fourtene thousand cannonades, one breach of almost four hundred paces, another of three score paces, another of sixteen paces, all fordable for horse and man. Three days afore our coming out, the enemy won our rampier, possest it for half an English myle. We have hurte and slain very neer eight hundred. We had not powder to fight two hours. We

* Sluise had been long besieged, and the Earl of Leicester had been pressed to go into Holland, in hopes that his presence would have relieved it. But the delays and smallness of the supplies rendered these hopes vain.

were continually for 13 nightes all on the breaches. I protest unto your Excellency, had your person bene with us we had not kept the place two hours longer. His army being ready to give a generall assault, we were forced to compound, in the which I swore unto him either to go out with honor, or else die with the rest and burne castell and towne. He gave us honorable composition. Had the state of England lain on it our lyvès, we could not defend the place three hours, for half the rampier was his, neither had we any pioneers but ourselves. I am sure never troupe fought longer than we dyd, nor never worse resolved to fly and skape, that could through the drownd land. Had your troupes entered a Tuesday, it had bene too late, for they had won the best part of the towne. When all the truth is knowne, we were sold by the vilains that are angry with us.

Yours to death,

R. WILLIAMS.

Referring the rest to Mr. Brouke.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Sir, I received your letters but now. My Lord of Cumberland came half a day before Sir Thomas Shurley, with the news of the yielding up of Sluse, which since it is gone shall not so much grieve me, the composition being so honorable. The Quene was a little troubled with it, and only blamed the Dutch, and your Lordship that you would trust them in anything. She hath bene since long with her counsaile. What is agreed on I know not, but this bearer is very hastily dispatched. I had great speech with her presently after my Lord of Cumberland was come. I desired her she wold know your enemies, and not believe anything they shold say. If they layd any matter to your charge, that she wold suspend her judgment till she did hear yourself speake. I will watch with the best diligence I can, that your enemies may not take

advantage of your absence. Your Lordship is very much beholding to my Lord Lumley, who both professeth himself to be yours, and shewes his affection in all your causes here. He is very carefull of the good successe of all your busines. Thus in haste I commit your Excellencie to God's happy protection. Theobalde's, this last of July, 1587.

Your sonne, most ready to do you service,

R. ESSEX.

W. HERLE TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

This day, about 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, arrived Mr. Atye here from your Excellency, and on Wensday morning to Thiballd's were letters brought out of Spayne, bringing a full assent to the peace, which are kept very close and secret.* The Earle of Derby will be at the courte on Sunday, and theruppon will follow what order shall be gyven to our commissioners for their proceeding. Sir Tho. Heneage on Wensdaye in the afternoone was sworne and admytted Vice-chamberlayne.† The Lord of Hunsdon departs tomorrow to his howse in Hartfordshire, and thence northward, being made Lord Warden of the Myddell Marches, with all fees and profits therunto appertayning bestowed on him. He hath beside a great parcell of the temporalities of the Bishoprick of Durham given him, wherof his followers prognosticate that he shall be made Cownte Palatine. He hath some forces appoynted him to strengthen his government and action.

Mr. Robert Cecill, at the mediation of the Earle of Essex, had all his father's offices graunted him in reversion within

* Towards the latter end of the year the Earl of Derby was sent into Flanders with commission to negotiate with the Prince of Parma for peace.

† The place of Sir Christopher Hatton, who was this year made Lord Chancellor.

Hartfordshire. Sir John Norrys' friends give out that he shall be sent over to make his submission to your Excellency, they using very reverent speeches of you, and taking hold of some check ye gave to the Lord Marshall, for the ill-exploited enterprise of Howghstrate, that if Sir John Norrys had been used in the charge, he would have fought it out with what forces soever he caryed, which doth so much the more please that syde, in how much it sounds to the disgrace of the sayd Lord Marshall.

I have now a sute to your Excellency of myne own; it is that ye wold be pleased to write an earnest letter on my behalf to the Lord Treasurer, who surely is well enclyned of himself to favour me, and hath promised all the mediation he can to her Majestie for my good, which by your recommendation will be furthered both in countenance and commodity; wherefore, seeing that your Excellency may greatly satisfy by so easy a meane, one that truly serves and honors you, I do rely thereof, and wholly commend it to your speedy honorable writing; lykewise that ye will vouchsafe that my Lady your wife do inclyne her son* to the same effect with her Majestie and the Lord Treasurer, which shall be a double favour, wherewith very humbly I take my leave. Temple Barre, the 8th of September, 1587.

Your Excellencie's most humble,

W. HERLLE.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO LORD BURGHELY.

My very good Lord, your Lordship by the inclosed from Mr. Stafford, may perceyve how muche there remayneth in his handes of the 18,000 crownes which I wish were delyvered unto the Count of Soyssons in case he contynues his former resolution to joyne the King of Navarr. How

* The Earl of Essex, whose mother the Earl of Leicester had married.

greatly it importeth her Majestie to have the King of Navarr upheld, the inclosed I receyved this morning from your servant, Mr. Powle, wyll shewe your Lordship. It were convenient that this letter were read unto her Majestie by Mr. Wolley, or at least so much thereof as concerneth herselfe. There would be expedition used in taking order for the sending of some present supply unto the King of Navarr. Mr. Horatio wyll attend on your Lordship this afternoone, to be ready to be employed in case her Majestie shall lyke to use his servyce. If the Duke of Montpensier shall find her Majestie resolved to back the King of Navarr, there is no doubt but that he maye be drawen to make himself a partye. There is no waye so apt to stopp the Spanish expeditions agaynst this realme, as the upholding of the King of Navarr, and the keeping under of the Howse of Guise, whom Spayne seeketh to advaunce. If her Majestie shall loose this opportunitye, either by long delay in resolving, or by not sending such a portion of treasure as may do good, she shall have cause to say, Farewell my dayes of peace.

Mr. Stafford, in a bye paper unto me, desyred that the cotype of the enclosed wrytten unto him from one whom he mayntaineth of purpose in the Reyters' campe, may not be knowne to be dyrected unto him, but rather to seeme some of his in Parris. I thinke your Lordship shall do well to acquaint Mr. Chauncellor with the French and Italian letters, and to praye him to joyne with your Lordship in the furthering of this cause of the King of Navarr's. And so I most humbly take my leave. At Barn-Elmes, the 12th of Sept. 1587.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL* TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

It maie please your Excellencie to understand, that wheras

* Sir William Russell was the fourth son of Francis Earl of Bedford. In the preceding year he had distinguished himself in the battle

complaynt hath bene made unto your Excellencie of the forcible delivering of a prisoner, and unreverent usage of the magistrates committed by the commons of this towne, the beginning of the disorder, and manner of proceeding therin, was such as followeth. The barber who was imprisoned, being, (as it is thought,) overcome with drinke, passed by the house of one Adrian Cornelison, a captain at sea, whom he found standing at his doore, and seeing a paper declaring that the house was to be lett, after other speeches, wished that he had bene gone both from his house and office before Sluis had bene lost, that some honester man that would have adventured to relieve it, might have enjoyed his roome. And uppon further speeches, he called the said Adrian traitor, and told him that he never dared to fight, neither before Sluis nor in any other service, and now it was lost he meant to abandon Vlisching and go to Camphere. Uppon complaynt made, the barber was summoned to appear before the magistrates at a daie appointed, which he omitted, and excuseth it because he said that there were many to be heard that daie, and himself appointed one of the last, wherby he presumed that the tyme would not serve. For the contempt of absenting himself, he was taken out of his bedd in the night, at ten or eleven of the clocke, and imprisoned. His freinds offered sureties to be bownd for him in a thousand guilders, which was refused. Uppon this the common people found themselves grieved, and flocked together, murmuring that their privileges were violated, in that the man was taken prisoner in the night for nothing but words against a private person, and cautions for him refused, being touched with no treason. Some of them came to my house to have communicated the matter to me, but I would not have to do with them, only this, I sent to the magistrates to advertize

at Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sydney was wounded, and he succeeded him as governor of Flushing. He was afterwards Lieutenant of Ireland, and was created by James I., Baron Russell, of Thornborough, in Northamptonshire. He died in 1613.

them that I heard of the people's discontent, and to advise and desire them to have regard that the trouble might be pacified. And as my message was done, the people ran violently uppon the magistrates, and forced them to release the prisoner. The daie following the magistrates desired my ayde, which I offred so far forthe as to persuade the people to end their tumults, and behave themselves obediently towards their magistrates, but to take any autoritie uppon me in the civill policy which belongeth to them and not to me, I would not, because I understood this trouble proceeded of an old grudge among them, so that if I had medled therin I must have bene partaker of one faction. I never animated any man in disobedience, and if I offended in anything, I assure your Excellencie it was in soliciting peace among them. This is th'effect of their disagreement, and thus farr did I deale therin and no farther, which I trust your Excellencie will not disallow, for that the matter touched the magistrates, and not any attempt against her Majestie nor the garrison, so farr as I could perceyve in either part. They were presentlie very well disposed to growe to any good agreement after they had bene with me, and nowe there is a good end made of all past grudges, and myself was required a few daies past to be present in the state-house at the conclusion of their amity, wherin every man seemed well content. Concerning the other matter wherof your Excellencie did write unto me, I trust your Excellencie is satisfied in my former letter.

And thus humblie craving pardon for that my sickness did not permitt me to write in mine owne hand, I commit your Excellencie to the protection of the Almightye.

Vlisching, this 13th of September, 1587.

Your Excellencie's at commandement,

W. RUSSELL.

MR. E. PRINNE TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Right Honorable, my humble dutie considered, the cause that moved me to write these few lynes is that nature causes me to shewe my dutie wherto I am bounde as the sonne of an Englishman. It is not unknowne unto your Honor of Sir Francis Drake's good success in this his last voyage;* whereuppon in France manie of the nobles and marchants were of the opynion that her Majestie wolde nowe lende the Kinge my master† out of this rich shipp of Portingall goods taken by the said Sir Francis Drake two hundred thousand crownes, to levy an army for the voyage of Portingall, which opynion of them the King assureth himselfe no lesse of her Majestie, as the tyme did give opportunitie.

But, my good Lorde, putting asyde these great matters, I am in loyall dutie even bounde to shewe your Honor that the myserable state of the poor King is suche, that her Majestie might do well to cause some of the King's poore creditors to be paid. All which 1200 or 1300 pounds wold discharge, and by this meanes the poore King owt of extremitie and daunger of greate discreditt, which I do assure your Honor wold befall, if at Michaelmas nexte there be not some good order taken

* Drake had been sent with a small fleet to harass the coast of Spain, and had been highly successful. "Entring into the port of Gades," says Camden, "he chased six gallyes under the forts, and sunke, tooke, or fired about a hundred vessels, wherein was great store of munition and victuals." From thence he made to Cape St. Vincent, where he took three forts, burnt the fishing-boats along the coast to the mouth of the Tagus, challenged the Marques of Santa Cruce to come out and fight him, and plundered the coast and destroyed the shipping in his sight. "From thence setting saile towards the Azores, he lighted by chance upon a very great marchaunt shippe, and very rich, (called a carack,) and named the Saint Philip, returning from East India, and easily overcame it, which the seafaring men on both sides, in regard of the name of Philip, interpreted to presage some disaster to Philip of Spaine."

† Antonio, Ex-King of Portugal.

with these poor men which are in greate danger of utter undoing. It will be a godly deede for her Majestie to supplie this extremitie. If this my simple letter wold not seeme tedious unto your Honor, I could be large in showing the most pittifull state of this poor King: in honor, my good Lord, her Majestie sholde take pittie unto his poore creditors, the names of whom I will referr untill such tyme as it shall please your Honor to weary yourself with this poor King's miseryes, weighing his poor estate with your true ballance, and use herin your honorable favours, under which banner the state of his poore howse dependeth, having no other refuge but in your Honor. And for my part, I do professe that my dutie unto her Majestie causeth me to write this bolde letter unto your Honor, for which I most humbly crave pardon, in hope of which I end, praying Almighty God longe to prosper your Honor's lyfe.

From London, the 16th of September, 1587.

Your Honor's most humble and dutifull servant,

EDWARD PRINNE.

THOMAS TUNCKER TO WILLIAM WATSON.*

I have here met with some Lubeck and other ships come from Lisborne, who assuredly saie that there is great preparation made, and daily making, at Lisborne, against the begynning of January, to invade England in the north parts, where for religion they shall finde the fifth man to be gyven to papestry, which will take part with them. As for Scotland, they be vowed to the King of Spaine as one man. As also they do practise with our English gentlemen, yonger brothers, to make them equal with them in inheritance. The Cardinall's secretary, and the Marquis Seint Croise his levetenant, told

* "The copie of a letter written from Elsener in Denmark, by Thos. Tuncker, the 13th of October, 1587, directed to William Watson of London, merchant, and by hym receyved the 4th of November, *anno dicto*."

this to Albar Grobe, master of a great ship of Lubeck, being aboard his ship at Belyan, and willed the shipper for auncient acquaintance to beware against their coming, which was about the middle of February, to do such an exployte as all the rest of Europe shold stand trembling if it might be performed. They had never learned this, but that they made their hearts merry with drinke. There came ships with great provisions daily out of the straights, with bisketts innumerable quantities, so of rice, wyne, oyle, powder, shot. There were also eightene great ships, some of Wismore, of Rostocke, of Hamburg, which came to Lisborne, laden with butter, chese, ankers, cables, tackle, fische of a wonderfull quantitie, and the ships presently entertayned into service, and new ports cut out, nyne or ten ports more then they had before. Likewise all the Holland ships prepared, besides a number preparing owt of the straights, and that of ships, of men, of victuals, there is great plentie, and no want. The Marques St. Croise at sea, with thirty-six sailes to conduct home th'Indian fleete, but there is a pestilence amonges his men at sea. A Scottishe ambassador is arryved at Lisborne, an Earle, highly entertayned of the Cardinall's, come thither overland. The Prince of Parma his factor at Hamburg hath his servants abroad to buy fly-boats, of sixty and seventy lastes, at Elbing, Danske, at Lubeck, in this place, and spareth for no money. They have bought twenty-five brave boats already. All these shall mete at Sluce, and with the Dunkirkers scoure the seas and kepe our men occupied in the narrow seas. God help England! for a destruction is preparing, if God stay it not. Syr, these news that I wryte be all trewe. The masters of those ships have sworne by their salvation that such speeches were uttered aboard his ship the 1st of September past.

SIR THOMAS LEIGHTON TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My singular good Lorde, the very barke that brought me your Lordship's letter, returning now unto Middelburgh, I wold not faile, according to your Lordship's commandement, to imparte such intelligences as are come to my hands, which is that the Spanishe armie departed from Lisbon the 3rd of this presente, in the which are shipped to the number of between fifteen and eighteen thousand soldiers, said to go into Scotlande. Another army the King prepareth, which are for the most part Italians, but those are thought will not be ready before the next springe; nevertheless sondry banda of them arrive daily in Spaine. The French doth undoubtedly determine to joyne with the Spaniarde this next yere. This I received but yesterday from the mouth of one that is inwardly greate with the embassador of Spaine, who farther affirmeth from the mouth of him that is for her Majestie, that he is not of the religion but parforce, and would be content to see a change in Englande. I leave to the judgment of your Excellencie whether it be not a thing of most dangerous consequence to have in so dangerous a tyme an unsounde person in that place. Well, God preserve her Majestie! It seemes to me that in so perilous a tyme, a pressing care wold be had what persons are put into such places, and so I leave further to trouble your Lordship, in presenting my humble duty, beseeching God to preserve you, and give you most prosperous success in all your actions. Guernsey, this 18th of September, 1587.

Your Excellencie's most humbly,
THOS. LEIGHTON.

Within fifteen days I determine, if God permit, to be in Englande, where I desire of God to see your Lordship.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, in the midst of my diet I fell into a fever, and since my recoverie of the fever, I am troubled greatly with a defluction of an humour into one of mine eyes, which hath bene the cause why your Lordship hath not heard from me these many daies. I hope your Lordship, considering it groweth from the hand of God, will excuse me. I doubt not but your Lordship is thoroughly acquainted with our courte proceedings since the returne of my Lord North and my brother Beale. From them and other your Lordship's honorable friends in court, I know you are informed how offensively it is taken that the matter of peace goeth so slowly forward there. It is reported that both Mr. Herbert, the Master of Requests, and Mr. Ortell, shall presently repaire over to deale effectually with the States for the advancement of the said peace; and it is also said that our commissioners shall put themselves presently in a readiness to departe into those contries, to th'end that when the States have given their consents to yield to the treatie, there may be no time lost. There is the more haste made in this matter, for that Andreas de Loe doth write that the Duke of Parma thinketh he is but mocked and dallied withall, and that he doubteth greatly that if Commissioners shall not be presently sent over, the said Duke will breake off and not proceed to the treatie, which we do believe here to be most true, and will by no meanes be persuaded that the King of Spaine and the said Duke do but dally with us, so strong a conceite are we growne to have of both their sincerities, contrarie to the opinion of all men of judgment, seeing the great preparations made both by sea and land.

Sir Edward Stafford hath advertised hither that the French King hath especially sent unto his agent in Spaine, to learne there whether the King of Spaine meant soundly to proceed in this treatie of peace with the Quene, from whom he hath receaved undoubted answer that the King doth it only to

winne tyme and to abuse the Quene of England. This, notwithstanding that Mr. Stafford hath gotten it from one of good account about the King, is offensively taken here, so much do we myslyke anything that may hinder the said treatie of peace.

Such newes as we have receaved out of France touching the King of Navarre and the Reiters' Campe, I send herewith unto your Lordship, and so most humbly take my leave. From my howse in London, the 9th of October, 1587.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

LORD HUNSDON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Touching this young King, surely if your Highness look for any amyty or kind dealing at his hands, you will fynde yourself greatly deceived. For if there were any good inclination in hym towards your Highness, which I neither fynd nor believe to be, yet hath he such a bad company about hym, and so maliciously bent against your Highness, as, if there were any good inclynation in hym towards your Highness, they will not suffer hym to remayn in it two days together. So as whatsoever is to be had from them must be by force, as I think your Highness fynds partly by this tyme, by such letters as I gat from Corselles* lately, and sent them up; for the which, I assure your Highness, he hath bene twice ready to hange himselfe. A greate pyty he was letted¹ from so good a deede!

I commytt your Highness to the protection of the Al-

* De Courcelles, a Frenchman, who was employed in the intrigues with Mary, before her death, and afterwards with the French party. It is to the letters here mentioned, apparently, that allusion is made in a long letter from R. Douglas to Archibald Douglas, on the 6th November.—(Lodge ii. 359.)

¹ Hindered.

mighty, who send your Highness a long life, with all happiness to your own hart's desyre and best contentment.

At Barwyke, the 24th of October, 1587.

Your Highness' most dutifull and obedient servant,

H. HUNSDON.

THE EARL OF DERBY TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My verie honorable good Lord, the charges of this embassy wherin her Majestie nowe imployeth me, which with all my harte for her service and the realme's I take uppon me, I fynde farre greater then I made reckoning of, for I assure your Lordship nowe uppon conference with my officers, touching those paste and them to come, I fynde it hathe cost me largelie synce my coming from myne own house, having attended here these three monthes, insomuch as the great dearthe of all thinges, where we go, considered, I fynde my proportionment for this turne muste of necessity be supplied.

It pleased your Lordship at your howse, for the which I thinke myself most deeplie behoulding to your Lordship, to proffer your bonde for me, the which albeit I will not desire of your Lordship, yet muste I make bolde to praye a little favor at your handes, which is that either it will please your Lordship to commende my desire by your letters to Sir Thomas Ramsey and Mr. Alderman Spencer for the loane of a £1,000 a twelvemonth uppon interest, and my statute for theire safetie and satisfaction, or els uppon the lyke securitie to move her Majesty to lende me as muche; for excepte by one of these two meanes, I see not howe my presente turne will be served. I beseeche your Lordship to have consideration hereof, whereby your Lordship shall make me so muche behoulding to you, as amonges a number of your honorable favors, I shall thinke myselfe for this principally behoulding to you and yours, so long as I

lyve. Of my greate expenses here sondrie wayes, besides the daylie charges of my standing howse in the country, for the fynding of my sonne and daughter Strange, and bothe our servants, bothe which being the causes of my presente wante, this bearer, who is acquainted therewithall, can at large informe your Lordship. And so wishing to your good Lordship as to myself, I do committ you to God.

My howse in Channon-rowe, this 1st of December, 1587.

Your Lordship's faythfull, loving friend, alwayes to use,

H. DERBY.

LORD CHARLES HOWARD TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My honorable good Lord, I do understand by Mr. Cæsar how much I am bound unto your Lordship for your honorable favor. I have no ways to recompense it but with my love and service, which your Lordship shall be most assured ever of.

It may be there hathe bene some reporte made to your Lordship of some chance that happened here before my coming downe, by fyre in one of the shyps, and because I do understand that it is reported that it should be done by Ascott, I do assure your Lordship it was after this manner. There were two poor knaves that came from Weschester, that stryved for a place to hang up their netting for to lye in, and the one of them had a piece of a kandell in his hand, and in stryving the kandell fell downe where there lay some ocham: it myght have bred some mischief, but it was quickly put out: it was in the E. Benaventre, but I hope to make them a warning to others to beware.

I am bolde to send you by this bearer, my man, the copy of a proclamation, which I have drawen and proclaimed in my own shypp, and shall this day and to-morrow proclaim in the rest. I am but a bad drawer of a proclamation, but it shall serve, I hope, for to prevent some ill that might happen. My

good Lord, this bearer, my man, shall attend at the court, and shall attend on your Lordship allways to knowe your pleasure, if you wyll command him anything unto me. And so resting always most beholding unto your Lordship, and most ready to do your Lordship any service, I humbly take my leave.

Aboard her Majestie's good ship, the White Bear, 24th Dec. 1587.

Your Lordship's most assured to command,

C. HOWARD.

THE COUNCIL TO THE LIEUTENANTS OF SUSSEX.*

After our right hartie commendations to your Lordships, wheras her Majestie hath thought it most convenient, (being advertised sondrie ways of the great preparations that are made already of shipping and men,) to provide all things necessarie to defende any invasion or attempt that might be made against the realme, or other her Majestie's dominions; amongst other things, considering howe, of late yeares, divers of her subjects by the meanes of bad instruments have bene withdrawn from the due obedience they owe to her Majestie and her lawes, insomuch as divers of them most obstinately have refused to come to the church to prayers and divine service, for which respects being so addicted, it is hardely adventured to repose that trust in them which is to be looked for in her other good subjects; and it is also certaine that such as should meane to invade the realme would never at-

* The Lord Admiral and Lord Buckhurst.

We now arrive at the eventful year 1588, which witnessed the defeat of the memorable Spanish Armada. At the commencement of the year the certain intelligence, which arrived every day, of the vast preparations made by the enemy, and the certainty that they were intended for England, rendered it necessary to adopt all measures possible for putting the nation in a posture of defence, and to secure the persons of all who were suspected of ill designs at home.

tempt the same, but uppon hope (which the fugitives and rebells abroad do give and assure them) of those bad members that alreadie are knowen to be recusants; it is therefore thought meet in these doubtfull tymes, they should be looked to and restrayned, as they shall neither be able to give assistance to the enemie, nor that the enemie should have any hope of reliefe and succour by them. Wherefore her Majestie's pleasure is, your Lordship shall cause due enquirie to be made what number of recusants are in that countie, and what qualitie and abilitie they be of. Wherin such gentlemen as have been commissioners before in those matters, are able to instruct you. And therupon to cause the most obstinate and noted persons to be committed to such prysons as are fittest for their safe keeping. The rest that are of value, and not so obstinate, to be referred to the custodie of some ecclesiasticall persons and other gentlemen well affected, to remayne at the charges of the recusant, to be restrained in such sorte as they may be forthcoming, and kept from intelligence one with another. Wherin, hoping your Lordships will take such orders herin as shall be most requisite in that behalfe, we byd your Lordships hartelie farewell. From the Courte, the 4th of January, 1587.

Your Lordship's very loving frendes,

JO. CANT.

F. KNOLLYS.

CHR. HATTON, Canc.

JAMES CROFT.

W. BURGHLEY.

T. HENEAGE.

H. DERBY.

A. POULET.

C. HOWARD.

J. WOLLEY.

THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My honorable and good Lord, I have received your Lordship's favorable letter, and am much bownde unto your Lordship for your Lordship's favors. I wold to God your

Lordship's helthe and strength were answerable to your mynde; then I am sure this company here with me should be happy to see your Lordship here.

My Lord, on Wensday last, I went to Harwyge, to see the towne and the haven, which I had not seen this 27 yeres. My Lord, it is a place to be made much of, for the haven hath not his fellow in all respects not in this realme, and especially as long as we have such enemyes so neere us, as they be in the Low Countryes, and not more assured of Scotland then we are. My Lord, we can bringe all the shyps that her Majestie hath a grownde there in 13 springs. I knowe not that we can do so in any place else but here at Chatham. That which is doing above the towne wyll be to very good purpose for any sodden, and for my part I wysht it were as stronge as Flushynge.

I received a letter from my Lord Cobham, of an enterpryse that is sent downe to burn all such shyps of her Majestie as shall ryde before the Ramskyns, or thereaboutes. I received this letter as I was half the way coming homewards from Harwyge. I presently sent away a pynace, with John Wynter in her, your Lordship's servant, and dyd send the advertysment unto Sir W. Russell, with a letter of my own; and lykewyse I did write unto the captaines of her Majestie's ships, with certain instructions, which, if the devise be attempted, I believe you shall hear they shall smart for ther devyse. There is two shyps and a pynace; their vytells cometh out about an 8 days hence, so that then they will come away. In the meane tyme, if nothing be done already, I doubt not but they shall safely come away. My good Lord, God send you ever well to do! And so I bid your Lordship most hartly farewell. From aboard the Bear, the 23rd of Jan.

Your Lordship's most assured always to command,

C. HOWARD.

LETTER OF PRIVY SEAL TO ROGER COLUMBELL.*

BY THE QUEEN.

Trustie and well-beloved, we greet you well, whereas for the better withstanding of the intended invasion of this realme, upon the great preparation made by the Kinge of Spaine, both by sea and land the last yeere, the same having been such as the lyke was never prepared at any time agaynst this realme, we are now forced for the defence of the same, and of our good loving subjects, to be at infinite charges both by sea and land, especially for that the same intended invasion tendeth directly to the conquest of this realme, and fynding also by such intelligences as we dayly receive that the lyke preparations are now making for the lyke intent the next yere, by the said Kynge, for the withstanding whereof it shall be necessarie for us to prepare bothe by sea and land, which cannot be performed without great charges, we have therefore thought it expedient, having alwaies our good and loving subjects most ready upon such lyke occasion to furnish us by way of loane of some convenient portions of money, agreable with their estate, (which we have and mynde alwayes to repaye,) to have recourse unto them in lyke manner at this present.

And therefore, having made choyce in the several parts of our realme of a number able to do us this kynd of service, which is not refused between neighbour and neighbour, amongst the number we have also particularly named you, Roger Columbello, for your ability and good-will you beare to us and our realme, to be one; wherefore we require you to paye to our use the sum of fyve-and-twentie pounds to such person as by our lieutenant of that countie shall be named to you by his hand wryting. And these our letters of privy seale, subscribed by the partie so named, by our lieutenant that

* Of Darley Hall, in Derbyshire. This letter is a curious illustration of the mode of raising money on an extraordinary emergency, by a forced loan.

shall receive the same, confessing the time of the receipt thereof, shal be sufficient to bynd us, our heires, and successors, duly to repaye the said summe to you or your assignes, at the end of one yere, from the 26th day of January, in the thirty-first yere of our raigne.

THOS. KERY.

Received of Mr. Roger Columbell, the 12th daye of Aprill, for her Majestie's use, the above said sum, twenty and five poundes, at Haddon, by me

JOHN MANERS,
Clerk in Engham.

SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.*

Since the writing of my last to your Lordship, the bourgers and captayns of Reverr hath declared themself to hold the town for her Majestie and your Honor, utterly refusing to obeye either Count Moriss or Hollock, or to receive any of their soldiers, wherfore they have most earnestly desired me to write to your Lordship, that they might be putt into her Majestie's paye, and they will hold the towne for her use and your Honor; a place, as your Honor knoweth, of great importance, commanding all the island. They marveling very much that all this while they have not heard from your Honor, their soldiers crying for two monthes' paye, so that if presently your Honour sendeth not over some mony for them, the place will be lost, and your Honor greatly dishonored and this action overthrowne, myself having already furnished them with some mony, and having from time to time assured them of your Lordship's promise, wherupon they

* After the departure of Leicester, there were two factions in the Low Countries; the English party, and the party of Count Maurice, son of the Prince of Orange, and the common cause suffered much by their jealousies.

have sett up their restes, being most assured to lose their lives, if your Lordship fayl them; wherfore I beseech your Lordship that with the very first there may be order taken for the levetenant, who hath so well deserved it. And thus nothing doubting of your Lordship's good care for Ends, a place of so great importance, I humbly take my leave.

Flushing, February 8.

Your Lordship's to command,

W. RUSSELL.

LORD WILLOUGHBY TO LORD BURGHEY.

Your Lordship's most honourable courtesyes and your most friendly counsell's received both by letters and messages by my servant Colman, were causes sufficient to make me wholly yours, if I were not already so far forth bound unto you, as nothing can be added to the sincere and affectionate regard wherewith I honour you and desire to serve you. For newes, this messenger departs so soone after the arrival of Colman, as having won so much time, not without some pains, as to travel from Utrecht hither to the Haghe, I have not had leisure to communicate those services with the States, commanded by her Majestie, only I have dispatched comfortable messages to the besieged of Meddenblick, and others distressed, as also her Majestie's letter to the two Counts. It is thought Hollock's letter will find him in good disposition, being, as some say, much inclined to a reconciliation with my Lord Stuard * and our nation, but the truth th'end will approve.

As far as I can learn, all the lendings are issued five or six dayes since, so I was forced to begin my credit anew with them at Utrecht, or else to have those daungerous events fall out in this troublesome time, which lack and misery cawses

* The Earl of Leicester

among men of warre. It was true lately that I sent to your Lordship, that the said treasure would have served nine weeks, but it hath scarce dured any more than sixe. I know not where the fault is, but I am well assured it might be better. There are divers Captains with great store of servants, (that spend her Majestie all together no lesse then 100*l.* a day, by all estimation,) absent from their companies in London: if it were spent here, it would do poore soldiours more good, and cause good discipline and order to be better regarded of all sorts. It may please you to pardon me that I trouble you with this, for as for those thinges which disorderly charge her Majestie, I know none more willing to redresse them than yourselfe: I have already bene blamed and complained on by the Treasurer to the Lord Stuard for my care in these things: your Lordship may vouchsafe to keep all to yourselfe, and as your Lordship shall think good reform by little and little what is amiss, for her Majestie's better service, which God is my witnes I desire uprightly to proceede in like an honest servant, without malicing of any, and I could wyshe myself a private man, discharged of all, to give occasion of offence to none, which is hardly found of those that serve as becomes them in any office. Thus I comfort me, in the mean while, that nothing shall please me better than a triall of my actions, when I shall be called therunto. For the rest your Lordship's direction (if God blesse me to follow it,) will make me passe these pikes the easier, which I always shall be ready to acknowledge as becomes me. And so I humbly take my leave, commending your Lordship to Almighty God. From the Haghe, the 22d of February, *stilo veteri*, 1587.

Your Lordship's most humble and assured to commaund,
P. WYLLUGHBY.

I have written to my Lord Stuard how all the lendings are out, and made mention to have the captains sent home. I beseech you kepe the rest to yourself, and consyder the

truth by esteeming how the captains live that are in London, to follow the court, and not the warres or their charge, in such sort as they do.

SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My very good Lord, sithens the writing of my last unto your Lordship, those of Armewe have thrust forth those horsmen which were in garrison there, and shewe themselves to rely themselves altogether uppon her Majestie, being in myne opinion very necessary (if it shall please your Lordship) to write unto them, for that it would greatlie satisfie them withall. The captaine of that place hath been with me this morning, to desire me to move your Lordship that there may be order taken for him and his companie to be entered into the Quene's paye, if the Estates fall from them, and deny them paye.

Sithens my being at Revere, they have thrust forth the chieffest burguemaster and the balleve, for that they doubted of their good meanings towards her Majestie. Now is this island* whollie assured unto her Majestie, if your Lordship will have regard to take order that Colonell Sonoy may be relieved in good tyme, otherwise it is to be doubted lest all will fall from us againe.

They resort unto me from many places, and do shewe themselves most willing to be governed by her Majestie, although Count Maurice and the Estates persuade them all that the Quene will undo them all with this treatie of peace. They in these parts and everywhere are so well affected unto your Lordship, that they desire greatly your Lordship's coming over. I am persuaded if it would please your Lordship to come, nowe is the tyme. Your Lordship might do much good, and bridle the States, with like revenge on all them which have crossed your Lordship. Forasmuch as the States

• Zealand.

and Count Maurice go about to deale in all things against the good proceeding of her Majestie in these countryes, I feare in this dangerous tyme, lest they, or some instrument for them, should corrupt our soldiers nowe they are in this great extremitie by reason of their wants and poverty. Wherefore I beseeche your Lordship to cause treasure to be sent over with as convenient speed as may be. Even so I cease further to trouble your Lordship, and do commend your Lordship to the Almighty's protection.

Vlushing, the 29th of Feb. 1587.

Your Lordship's ever to command,

W. RUSSELL.

SIR ROBERT CECIL* TO MICHAEL HICKES.†

Mr. Hycks, lest you might think Ostend hath altered my disposition, though it may chance to change my complexion, I have written these few lines.

You live, and so doth Mr. Arondell too, in safety and pleasure, both which I never wanted tyll now.

The soldiours every day disposed to mutynies, nothing to be had but what we brought with us, and that spoyled with lying shynned a moneth for want of wynd and waftage.

My cosen Spencer is gone toward Bruxelles to the Duke ; when you heare I have bene there, believe it.

The Governour of the next towne, hearing that we had

* Addressed "To Mr. Michael Hycks, my frend, by the fyre side, I believe."

† Michael Hickes, the eldest son of Robert Hickes, a wealthy citizen and mercer of Cheapside, in London. Michael was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was afterwards entered at Lincoln's-Inn, and finally became private secretary to Lord Burghley, with whose son, Sir Robert, he formed a friendship that lasted all their lives. He was made a baronet by James I. and died in 1612.

Sir Robert Cecil accompanied Lord Derby in his mission to the Low Countries.

greyhounds and setters in our company for hares and partridges, as plenty by the wast of the land as crowes in England, sent this day a drum, which was ledd blyndfold into the towne between two, because he shold not descry the manner of our fortifications, for leave that he with his doggs might in safety hunt under the towne, and send us a pasport to do the lyke at Odenborch, which is two Dutch myles from us.

We need not feare him in these trifles, for such is the weaknes of this place, as in ten dayes he may have it, if he will sett downe before it, which, assure you, this treaty once broken, he will not be long about.

If there be cessation of arms, as I hope there will, we shall to Bruges, and then I will go to all the brave townes about, where I will wish both you and W. Arondell, to whom I pray you lett my letter with my excuse be imparted, but of this kepe my counsaile.

I desire to heare answer of my letter from Dover. I cannot see in what sence I can be looked for tyll Midsommer, as I dare to you confess in private.

Commend me to Mr. Steward, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Wilkynson. My health was never so good, I praise God. Honesty is a goodly jewell. Many things I could be merry with in my letter to you both, but *literæ scriptæ manent*. And *vivat* the good Erle of Darby! whose muttons dye, his henns starve, and we are fayne nevertheles to eat them. My songe is all my riches, with which I trust you. From Ostend, where I shall learne what becomes a soldiour, though I must say *cedant arma togæ*.

This 29th of Feb. leape yeere.

Your nose would drop off, i'fayth, Don Michael, if you were as cold as we have bene.

ROBT. CECILL.

Not a fayre woman, nor an honest.

•

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.*

Yesterday I dyd receive your Lordship's letter, dated of Tybauldes, the 8th of thys instante, and the same with others was brought me from the Lord Scrope, in which he wryteth that the Lord Herryys is returned home from the King, as offycer and warden opposite of the west countreys of Scotland, with as full countenance and favor as ever he had, which is a very soddayne change from that which I did heare three weeks paste, that the King should intend against this man. But welters, (as they terme them,) be not stronge in Scotland.

Your Lordship's advyse for my proceeding in that I have begun, for the putting of these men in readynes, hath made me appoynte a shorter daye for the view of the army. For nowe I mynde to have it done the weeke after the end of the assize. So as I hope before Easter the furniture shal be prepared in good order, and soon after Easter they shall be all put into bandes, under captaynes, that they may be trayned, if so it be thought fytt, as in my opynion it is; but as I have before this tyme wrytten somewhat unto your Lordship hereof, so have I also acquaynted my Lords by a letter directed to them, of this my intention. So as I hope to understand your Lordship's lyking or mynde otherwyse herein, before the tyme wyll serve to put the same in practyse.

I wyshe, as your Lordship doth, that these preparations may prove to be rather promissional then actional, so longe as her Majesty may with honor and safety be free from warre; for a warre once begun, is not so soone ended, and as this preparation at home is no doubte one good meanes to keepe peace and putt off warre, so I thinke there are many in Scotland

* It was expected by many that the Spaniards would land in the North of England, where they might be aided by the Scots, and where the disaffected Catholics were most numerous. As the disposition of the Scots was much mistrusted, it was thought especially necessary to put that part of the country in a state of defence.

well inclyned to this course, that the amyty betwixte the two realmes may still be preserved ; for the Protestantes of Scotland do or may see, that a warre wyll be the overthrowe of them, and that cause which, I thinke, they holde most deare

I do heare that Boste and Holte were of late in Northumberland, and also that Davy Inglebye is sometymes there ; but whether her Majestie wolde have this man now to be taken, I am not sure ; if your Lordship thinke good I shall be glad to understand it. Thus comytting your Lordship to the tuition of the Lord, for thys tyme I take my leave. At Yorke, the 13th of March, 1587.

Your Lordship's assured to commaund,

H. HUNTYNGDON.

THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My honorable good Lord, I received even now a letter from Captain Frobysher ; the effect was, that there is come from the ryver Seine, in France, sixe English shippes, who declared unto him, that there was great forces of soldiers come downe to the sea coast, and that it is spoken there that word is brought by one that came out of Spayn, that the Spanysh fleete is at the sea, and that there upon the news the Frenchmen made great jolytie and bravery, and came downe to the English shippes and cut their cables, and used them so badly as they were driven to come away with all speed, and leave all their business, and also Mr. Frobysher hath wrytten that on Friday last, being the 5th of this present, there passed by Calysse a hundred pilots, wherof two were Englyshemen : they came in a fly-boat from Dunkirk, and are gone to meet the Spanysh fleet. Her Majestie's pleasure was, that this letter should be sent to Syr Fr. Drake, for the wynd being as it hath bene ever synce, it is like they should not be past the islands of Garnsé and Jersé, and that he should send two or three nimble barks to intercept them, if it be possyble, and

also if they meet with any that come out of Spayne, to learne what they can of the readynes of the armie there, whych in my opinion is readyer than we do thinke they be. I would have been very glad to have seen your Lordship myselfe, but I could not obtayn leave of her Majesty, and yet it were fit that I should make your Lordship acquainted with her Majestie's resolution touching the service on the seas, which, God wylling, I wyll do befor I departe, if no sudden alarme come, which I fear hourly.

My good frend, Mr. Robert Cyssell, did write me a letter, which I think her Majestie she did reade it over to me twice, with words of him that I was not sorry to hear. I am bold to send the letter unto your Lordship, praying your Lordship that after you have read it, that you will send it me agayne, for after her Majestie had read it thrice unto me, she called for it agayne, and read it to my Lord Stuard.* I pray to God to send your Lordship strength and helthe, and so I take my leave of your Lordship. From Hakné, the 13th of April.

Your Lordship's most assured to commaund,

C. HOWARD.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Maye it please your Lordship, this good knyghte can suffyciently shewe your Lordship howe farre I have proceeded, and in what sorte, for the reducing of the men into bandes, which her Majestie commaunded to be levied here, as also for their trayning. I have had his company here sundry tymes since my coming hyther, for which I pray your Lordship to thanke hym. But if her Majestie, by your Lordship's meanes, myght be pleased to take knowledge therof, it wolde not a lyttle comfort hym. With the cause of his repayre to London and the Court, I know he wyll acquaynt your Lordship; but I thinke good to let your Lordship understand that

* The Earl of Leicester.

without my privytie and consent he wolde not take the journey, because of the commaundement which her Majestie dyd give unto hym at his coming from London. And truly, if cause of servise shoulde happen, I wysh he might not be longe stayed there. But I hope your Lordship hath cause to thinke that by Mydsummer there wyll be more hope of quietnes then abowte Christmas it was lyke to be,* and yet I styll wysh that the preparations for warre might in some sorte be continued, and especially for provision of such necessities as on the soddayn cannot be had, as powthyr, etc. Thus commytting your Lordship to the protection of the Allmyghty, I take my leave. At Yorke, the 28th of May, 1588. Your Lordship's moste assured,

H. HUNTYNGDON.

SIR EDWARD NORRIS TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

It pleased your Honor to command me to write unto you, which I would not fail, as nothing else that ever your Honor shall command me.

The enemy is still lodged betwixt this and Newport, of horse and foote seven thousand men; the rest of his army round about the countrey. What he intendeth he never gives out, but it is thought, if he part from this towne, he will besiege Utrecht, and to that end doth draw downe part of his forces towards that place, under colour to besiege Berk, although the most common brute be that he prepares against England, and for that end doth here cutt passages for his boates, and layes his army here for safeguard of the pioneers.

* * * * *

The estate of our towne is yet so miserable, that I think,

* This is a curious proof of the uncertainty and varying reports which prevailed in England of the motions and intentions of the Spaniards, up to the moment of the appearance of their fleet.

fitter for me to endeavour by all meanes rather to mend it, then wryte of it. The soonest way to have it better is, that it may please your Honor to have care of it; for though the enemy shall spare us, as I know not why he should, knowing our weaknes as he doth by our continuall soldiers that run unto him, yet is there otherwyse great appearance of our ruine, and so great, that would God the feare of the enemy's besieging us were the greatest. For myself, it shall appear that against the enemy and the rest I will not spare to employ all that littel whatsoever I am worth or able, and if withall I may procure your Honor's good favor and opinion of me, I will think myself happy.

I feare I have troubled your Honor over long, so that with the offer of my humble service, and my daily prayers for your Honor, I will most humbly take my leave. From Ostend, this 10th of June, 1588.

Your Honor's always ready to do you service,

ED. NORREYS.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.*

Although I do very well knowe that your Honor shall be at large advertised by my very good Lord the Lord Admirall, that the Spanish forces are descried to be near at hand, in severall companies, on our coast, as it is reported for certaine by three barkes, unto whom they gave chase and made shott, yet have I thought it good also to write these fewe lynes unto your Honor, nothing doubting but that, with

* The Armada set sail from the Tagus on the 29th of May, but was so scattered by tempest before it reached the Groine, that it was believed in England that no further danger was to be expected this year. The Lord Admiral put out to sea, but, the wind changing round, and being favourable for the Spaniards, he returned to the English coast, fearing they might get under sail and pass him. The Spaniards did not leave the Groine till the 12th of July. The report mentioned in this letter, must have been a false alarm.

God's assistance, they shall be so sought out and encountered withall in such sort, as I hope will qualifie their malicious and long pretended practises. And therefore I beseeche your Honor to pray continually for our good success in this action, to the performance wherof we have all resolutely avowed the adventure of our lyves.

June the 24th, 1588.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

I am sorry with all my harte for the cause of griefe* which your Lordship hath. But I hope that your wysdome and knowledge wyll easily persuade you to dygest the same in such sorte as the affections of nature shall not prevayle to

* The death of his daughter Anne, Countess of Oxford, whom he especially loved, and whose heart was broken by the neglect she experienced from her husband. While speaking of this lady, we may add the following (from MS. Lansd. 104, 76,) to the list of literary productions from the pen of her father, given by Nares.

Stanzas of English poetry sent with a new-yere's-gift of a spinning-wheel, by Sir William Cecill to his daughter Anne. 1566.

TO MISTRES ANNE CECILL.

As yeres do growe, so cares increase,
 And tyme will move to looke to thifte,
 Though yeres in me worke nothing lesse,
 Yet for your yeres, and new-yere's gifte,
 This huswife's toy is now my shifte;
 To set you on worke some thifte to feele,
 I sende you now a spyning wheele.

But one thing firste I wishe and pray,
 Leste thurste of thryfte might soone you tirc,
 Only to spyne one pounce a daye,
 And play the reste as tyme require:
 Sweate not (oh fy!), fling rocke in fyre.
 God sende, who sendeth all thifte and welth,
 You long yeres and your father helth!

the hurte of your mynde or body. And so I do hartely wyshe it may with your Lordship be wysely and christianly passed over.

It may please your Lordship to understand, that upon the receit of my Lords' letters, by which I do perceive that it is her Majestie's pleasure I shoulde prepare myself to go unto Newcastle,* I have thought to myself how I may be best able to do it, which her Majesty may justely looke for, and I in duty am desyrous to performe. And surely, excepte it may please her Majesty to appoynt me to go in other sorte then I have done in tymes paste, my journey thither will neyther be honorable for her Majesty, credit to myselfe, or good for the cause. For without forces to be present with me, for the wythstanding of any soddayn attempte, what can I be able to do? In Tynemouthe, I thinke there is little or nothing at all, and in the store-house at Newcastle, there is as little to supply. But if bothe the places were fylled most plentifully with all kynde of necessary furniture, unless I had men with me to use it, what servyse could I be able to do? As I do knowe you do thynk carefully of this, and all lyke matters, so let me humbly and hartely beseeche you to thynke frendly of me. Thus I praye I may not wante those meanes to assyste, without the which in this kynde of servise, nothing can be done. And so commytting your Lordship to the Almighty, myselfe to your honorable favor, and all things pertayning to this servyse to your most grave consyderation, I take my leave.

At Yorke, wrytten in great payne, the 29th of June, 1588.

Your Lordship's most assured,

H. HUNTYNGDON.

CIRCULAR FROM THE COUNCIL TO THE NOBILITY.

Although we doubt not your Lordship heareth dayly of the

* To be ready to hinder the landing of the Spaniards, should they come there.

reports made from all parts beyond the seas what great preparations of forces are made, as well in Spaine as in the Low Countries, and that in common judgement of men the same may be intended against the state of this realme; yet because in our directions given these late years, through the whole realme, for mustering, arming, and trayning of all persons able to beare armor, there hath bene no speciall direction given to require any nobleman to prepare himself with any furniture for the warre, for himself, his servaunt, or tenants, but that her Majestie did certainly suppose that it was the naturall disposition of the nobilitie without any directions to be armed, both for themselves and for furniture of horsemen and footmen, according to their abilitie. Therefore we that have cause by our calling in the service of her Majestie to have a more certaine knowledg then by common reports what preparations are already made in the parts beyond the seas very likely to the offence of this realme, for defence whereof, considering that her Majestie hath very providently ordered that her people in all parts of the realme should be in readines under captaines and leaders, and that it is the part of wisdom, that her Majestie's person should have in such a tyme of danger a speciall army to resort to her person, to be directed by her Majestie, where cause shall require, in which service none are more mete to be trusted therein then her nobilitie, we have thought it not impertinent to this purpose to impart thus muche to your Lordship, as one whom we knowe her Majesty doth trust, and therewith do require your Lordship to take it for an argument of our speciall love to your Lordship in advertising you of your promises. And in regard therof we do not doubt but your Lordship with all your spede you can possible will be fully furnished with armor and weapon mete for your calling, and of your servaunts and able tenants that are not already enrolled in the generall musters of your countie, as speciall trayned persons, to make as many horsemen as you can, both for launces and light horsemen; and for the more increase

of horsemen for want of sufficient number of greate horses or geldings, we thinke your Lordship may do well to increase your number if you shall provide able men with pettronells upon horses of smaller stature then is mete for a launce or a staffe; and your Lordship being thus furnished, as we hope you will, we thinke her Majestie will make good accompte of you amongst other noblemen to repaire to her person, when you shall be called. And your Lordship shall singularly content us to lett us knowe by your letters as soon as you may, what shall be the numbers which your Lordship shall account to have furnished, and of what condition for this service, whereuppon we may, according to the good will we beare you, impart the same to her Majestie.

MR. RITHER TO LORD BURGHELY.

In these tymes of expected troubles, right honourable, the zeal due to my countrey, which cannot well be contayned within his appointed lymittes, must break owt, I hope excusably. God having blessed your wysdomes to our peace these many yeares past, yet this vicissitude so conversant in human courses will at length worke his effect. Eternall peace is by th'Allmighty established in heaven only. This perjured nation next ours is that which I am most jealous over, to whom this verse may well be applyed, *Pax Scotiæ interdum, pacis fiducia nunquam, gens vere punica*. An old writer sayth they are a nation by nature delighting in frawd and treason, which want of force by necessity doth often forward, as Achelous sayd, *Inferior virtute, meas divortor ad artes*. If they used such in defence of their own, and expected not greater rewardes of their arte, *quid nunc expectandum ! quum spes et metus gemina ope concurrunt*. What shall I speake of the gyftes and plausible wordes offred by these and other our enemyes, worse to be lyked then their drawen swordes; but as the Trojan, wyse in counsell, and faythfull to his

country, sayd by the fatall horse, *Quicquid id est timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, commonly under such plesaunt baytes lye hidden the bitter hookes of such as fysh for our landes, lyves, lyberties, lawes. Of all other most worthely did the Italien pronounce these words, "I wyll not owe my lyfe to the enemy of my country."

My Lord, I was born in Kent, brought up in Northamptonshire, dwell now in Yorkshire, and am often conversant with the people of Kendall, and having taken notice of the dyfferent dyspositions, with some narrow observations of these several inhabitants, I fynd it an infallible certainty, that the farther north less truth, which rule they say here reacheth hence into the hart of Scotland.

It is needfull to gyve an eye to the back-door ; if the Scottes be our frendes, we may well call them our back frendes, for we have seldom had to do with our foes before, but they have stryken at us behynde ; an old English adage, *omne malum ab aquilone*.

Our forces and myndes of this countrey are a match for all Skottland, if conduct be answerable. Barwyke is thought by the wiser sort here to be forgotten, considering the danger of these dayes. But truly our Lord Lyvetenant,* assisted with the meaner Lords, are all painfull and carefull noblemen, if that wyll suffice. Yet in common reason, such as busily guyde a barge in a calme, will not easily rule a greater vessell in a storm. In myne own conceit I nowe performe the parte of Apelles' shomaker, but because many thinges have been of late reformed here by your Honor's dyrection, I do embolden myself the more, of these to delyver my dym inspect, which somewhere offred worketh no such effect, for that it is not everywhere so well taken as meant. God is my judg, whose good favour guyde all your Honor's courses, tending ever to his glory and our good. Harwood, 17^o Julii, 1588.

Your Lordship's most humbly.

* The Earl of Huntingdon.

SIR THOMAS HENEAGE TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My Lorde, I have more to say to your Lordship than to write; and if Mr. Candysh had kept promise with me, he had been the bringer of this letter, which I send chiefly to let your Lordship knowe, that upon the intelligence we receive, that the Duke of Parma resolutely purposeth to attempt London, however he may, whether it be by water or by land,* and upon the coming backe of my Lord Admirall with the whole navy to Portesmouth, her Majestie hath not seemed pleased that your Lordship be absent. I told her Majestie that you had been here but for her servyce of seeing the musters in Hertfordshire; and I thought also in Essex. Herewith for that tyme she seemed satysfied; but after, I heard she thought the consideration of the things above mentioned were fyttre to be regarded. And as my Lords, and such as be here of her Majestie's counsell, have once sett upon these things, and some made a report therof, wherat myself was not, so this afternoon my Lord Chamberlayn, with Mr. Wolley and myself, calling by appoyntment, Sir John Norris and Sir Thomas Leighton have somewhat further debated of these causes for the withstanding the attempt of London, both by water and land, if it shold be sodainely assailed, when our shippes were wynd-bound, to make things more ripe when your Lordship shall come to consider therof. So resting sure your Lordship's, to performe ever the office of a man that most loves you, I commend me humbly unto you, and wyshe your Lordship soone and well here. At the courte, this 17th of July, 1588.

Your Lordship's as bound ever,

T. HENEAGE.

* The Spanish Armada was to join its forces with those in the Netherlands under the Prince of Parma, and then to bring them all to the Thames, whence the army was to march immediately against London.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO LORD HENRY SEYMOUR.*

Right Honorable and my verie good Lord, I am commanded by my good Lord the Lord Admirall, to send you the carvel in haste with these letters, giving your Lordship to understand that the armye of Spaine arrived upon our coast the 20th of the present; and the 21st we had them in chase, and in coming up to them there had passed some common shot between some of our flete and some of them; and, as far as we can perceive, they are determined to sell their lyves with blowes. Wherupon his Lordship hath commanded me to write unto your Lordship and Sir William Winter, that those shippes serving under your charge should be putt into the best and strongest manner you can, and ready to assist his Lordship, for the better encountering of them in those parts where you nowe are. In the mean tyme, what his Lordship and the rest following hym may do, shall be surelie performed.

* Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter were stationed with a fleet to prevent any sudden attempt by the Prince of Parma, while the Lord Admiral was looking after the Armada. On the 19th of July, intelligence was brought to the Admiral, that the whole Spanish fleet was entered into the British seas. The wind was against the English fleet, which was with difficulty towed out of the harbour. "The 21st of July, the Lord Admirall, sending a pinnace before, called the Defiance, denounced war by discharging her ordinance, and presently, with much thundering out of his own ship, called the Ark-royall, he first set upon the Admiral, as he thought, of the Spaniards, but it was Alphonso de Leyva's ship. Soone after, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, played with their ordinance upon the hindmost squadron, which was commanded by Recalde, who laboured all he could to stay his men that fled to the fleete, till his own ship, being much battered with shott, and now growne unserviceable, hardly withdrew itselfe to the maine fleete." The Duke of Medina Sidonia called in his ships, and made all sail possible. And after "they had maintained a hot fight, the space of two hours, the Lord Admirall thought not good to continue the fight any longer, for that forty of his ships were not yet come in, being scarcely yet gotten out of the haven."—*Camden*.

His Lordship hath commanded me to write heartie commendations to your Lordship and Sir William Winter. I do salute your Lordship, Sir William Winter, Sir Henry Palmer, and all the rest of those honorable gentlemen serving under you, with the lyke, beseeching God of his mercie to give her Majestie our gracious sovereign alwayes victory against her enemies. Written aboard her Majestie's good ship the Revenge, off of Start, the 21st late in the evening, 1588.

Your Lordship's poor frend ready to be commanded,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Postscript.—This letter, my honorable good Lord, is sent in haste. The flete of Spaniards are somewhat above a hundred sails, many great ships. But trulie I think not halfe of them men of warre. Haste !

Your Lordship's assured,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

Most Honorable, I am commanded to send these prisoners ashore by my Lord Admirall, which had, ere this, by me bene done, but I thought their being here might have done something, which is not thought mete now. Let me beseeche your Honor that they may be presented unto her Majestie, either by your Honor, or my honorable good Lord my Lord Chancellor,* or both of you. The one, Don Pedro,†

* Sir Christopher Hatton.

† Don Pedro de Valdez, whose ship had been taken by Drake at night, on the 22nd, the day after the first fight, and, according to Hakluyt, the English sailors "merrily filled their pockets" with the money in the Spanish vessel.

The 23rd, "betimes in the morning, the Spaniards taking the benefit of a northerly wind, turned about against the English, who for their advantage, turned aside towards the west ; and after they had strived

is a man of great estimation with the King of Spain, and thought next in this army to the Duke of Sidonia. If they

to get the wind one of another, they prepared themselves on both sides to fight, and fight they did, confusedly, and with variable fortune, whilst, on the one side, the English manfully rescued the shippes of London that were hemmed in by the Spaniards; and on the other side, the Spaniards as stoutly delivered Recalde, who was in danger. Cock, an Englishman, died with honour in the midst of the enemies in a small ship of his. The English ships, being far the lesser, charged the enemy with marvellous agility, and having discharged their broad-sides, flew forth presently into the deep, and levelled their shot directly, without missing, at those great ships of the Spaniards."

On the 24th there was no fighting, but the English admiral sent to land for powder, &c., and divided his fleet into four squadrons, the first under his own command, the other three severally under Drake, Hawkyns, and Frobisher. On the 25th (St. James's Day) there was another running fight, in which, according to the Spanish account, the Spanish admiral suffered very severely.

On the 27th the Spaniards came to anchor before Calais, whence he sent urgent messengers to the Prince of Parma to hasten his junction with them, and the whole English navy anchored close by. "Whilst they were here," says Stowe, "the Spanish faction in sundrie nations had divulged that England was subdued, the Quene taken and sent prisoner over the Alpes to Rome, where, barefoote, she should make her humble reconciliation, &c. In Paris, Don Barnardino de Mendoza entered into our Ladie Church, (Notre Dame,) advancing his rapier in his right hand, and with a loud voyce, cried, 'Victorie! victorie!' and it was forthwith bruted, that England was vanquished. But the next day, when truth was knowne of the Armada's overthrowe, certain pages of adverse faction unto Spayne, in bitter, scoffing manner, humbly prayed his Lordship's letters unto the Duke of Parma, in favour of their good fortune, to bestowe upon them some odde wast cast townes or villages, as London, Canterbury, or Yorke, or so, whereat Mendoza, being much dismayed, obscured himself, not daring to shewe his face."

By the Queen's direction, the English Admiral now prepared eight fire-ships, which were sent among the Spanish fleet in the night, who, in their terror and confusion, cut their cables and fled on every side, several being stranded and lost. "The English forces being now wholly united, prevented their enemies conjoyning together, and followed their fortunes to the uttermost, continuing four dayes' fight in

should be given from me unto any other, it would be some griefe to my friends. If her Majestie will have them, God defend but I should think it happy!

We have the army of Spaine before us, and mynd, with the grace of God, to wrestle a pulle with them. There was never anything pleased better then the seeing the enemie flying with a southerlie wind to the northwards.

God grant we have a good eye to the Duke of Parma! for, with the grace of God, if we lyve, I doubt it not, but ere it be long, so to handle the matters with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish hymselfe at St. Mary Port, among his vyne-trees.

God give us grace to depend upon hym! so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good. Humblie taking my leave, this last of July, 1588.

Your Honor's faithfully to be commanded ever,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

I crave pardon of your Honor for my haste, for that I had the watch this last night upon the enemie.

Yours ever,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

LORD WILLOUGHBY TO LADY STAFFORD.

Madame, having once disliked her Majestie with my letters, I am so discouraged as I dare not adventure my dutifull good meaning to my bad inditing, and therefore I come to

more deadly manner then at any time before, and having incessant cause of fresh incoragement, chased the Spaniards from place to place, until they had driven them into a desperate estate, so as of necessitie, as well for that the wind was westerlie, as that their enemies increased, and their own provisions of sayles, cables, and anchors, greatly wasted, resolved to shape their course by the Orcades and the north of Ireland, in whose pursuit, if the English had been but meanly furnished with victuall and munition, they would have brought them all unto their mercie."—*Stowe*.

you (as at the second hand, but my first meanes) to let her Majestie understand, that if my hand simply declaring a simple truth offended her, the same hand shall give her satisfaction against her enemies (if God shall give me leave) or purchase myne own death. It is thought here, the Duke of Parma opinioneth himself to sett foot in England, with that armie he hath here in readiness, with the first faire windes and spring tides. Hitherto, for any newes we understand from sea, to divide her Highnes' fleete were daungerous, and to trust in a few of these countrey shippes onely, no great assurance to impeach such an action. But if it please her Majestie I joyne with them, with those forces of hers that are here, keeping those few together, and not disjoyning our small forces, we shall on this side venture to stoppe their coming out; but if that faile, at least we may fall so at their backs, as they shall not dare to disembarke themselves, but that we shall hazard a great part of their float and forces to be defeated, which they can sett all at once on land. I sett this rudely downe as my manner is, but it may fall out in effect as good as those that are better polished. Thus, Honorable Lady, let either her Majestie reade, or heare say from yourself, that religion, the humblest respect, and the devotest love, are seated as much in my zealous harte to her Highnes' service, as in the greatest subject that serveth any prince; such equalitie is there betwixt poore men and the greatest, that we compare our love and duties to God and our prince, and seale it with that life as precious to us as to the best, since we have but one common end, our grave. And so, commending myself to you, to be remembred the best you may, to the best of all, I leave you to God. Midleburgh, 5th of August, 1588.

Your Ladyship's assured to commaund,

P. WYLLUGHBY.

Since this, I have, according to the pleasures of the Lordes of the Councill, sente awaie the best part of the shotte I

have here, though it be a great maiming to all the service on this side, and we left, as it were, destitute.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

My good Lord, the trustiness of this gentleman maketh me the shorter. How we lyke of the Quene's repaire to the campe, he will shewe you, and what dowtes are made of mysadventure that may fall owt. I have let him understand what I heare.

This daye Monsieur Cleremonte D'Amboyse had audience. His arrant, as I learne by Busenvall, is to sollycit supporte, but synding the tyme unseasonable, he meaneth to forbear to deale therin. From hence he goeth to Sedan. It seemeth the King of Navar is careful to preserve that towne.

From the Lord Admirall we heare nothing. The last messenger that came from thence doth assure me that the Duke of Sidonia hath but 86 sayle left. I meane to steale to the campe, when her Majestie shall be there. And so in the meane tyme I most humbly take my leave. At the Courte, the 6th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

How the King of Scots standeth affected towards her Majestie and the newes, this bearer will shew your Lordship.

The Duke of Guyse is at Chartres with the King.* There are no ships at Depe nor Newhaven.

* It had been reported that the Duke of Guise was raising forces to join with the Spaniards.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

By the copy of the Lord Admyrall's letters brought this daye to the campe by the Earle of Cumberland, your Lordship may perceive what is become of the Spanish fleete. I am sorry the Lord Admyrall was forced to leave the prosecution of the enemye through the wants he sustayned.* Our halfe doings doth breed dishonour, and leaveth the disease uncured. The Earle of Derby and the rest of the commissioners arrived this morning at Dover. The Lord Admyrall cometh this night to the Downes. And so I most humbly take my leave. At the campe, the 8th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The absence of my Lord Admiral, most gracious sovereign, hath emboldened me to put my pen to the paper. On Friday laste, upon good consideration, we caste the army of Spayn so farre to the northwardes, as they could neither recover England nor Scotland; and within three days after, we were entertayned with a greate storme, consydering the tyme of the yere, the which, in many of our judgments, hath not a little served to drive the enemy away.

If the wynd hinders it not, I think they are forced to Denmark, and that for divers causes. Certain it is, that many of their people were sick, and not a few kyled. Their shippes, sayls, ropes, and waste, nedeth great reparations, for that they had all felt of your Majestie's forces. If your Majestie thought it mete, it were not amisse you sent presently to

* The English fleet, after chasing the Spaniards to the north of the Frith of Edinburgh, were compelled for want of powder to give up the pursuit.

Denmark to understande the truthe, and to deale with that King according to your Majestie's great wisdome. I have not wrytten this, wherby your majesty should diminish any of your forces. Your Highnes' enemies are many, yet God hath and will heare your Majestie's prayers, putting your hand to the plough for the defence of his truthe, as your Majestie hath begun. God, for his truthe's sake, blesse your sacred Majestie now and ever !

Wrytten aboard your Majesties good shipp the Revenge, this 8th of August, 1588.

Your Majestie's faithful vassal,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

SIR EDWARD FITTON* TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, being extreme sicke in my bed, and hearing the styrre and the newes about the southe partes, I have intreated this bearer, my cousen Bould, who acknowledgeth himself most bounde to your Lordship, to lett your Lordship know, that at your Lordship's pleasure I will send to your Lordship two hundrethe able men, and if I be able and lyve, will bring them. I presume to write this because other Lords send for all their servants ; and, my Lord, if your Lordship lust to wryte, a number of my kyn and friends have sayd, they will be at your command.

Thus, being sicke in my bed, and so having been this three weekes, I humbly take my leave. Gausworth, this 8th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's during my lyfe,

ED. PHYTON.

Our furnytüre generally is bowes, jackes, and bylles.

* This was the second Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsorth. He was president of Munster, and died in 1606.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, immediately uppon my arrival at the camp, I met with the Earl of Comberland, sent hither unto her Majestie from the Lord Admyrall.

By his Lordship's letter (wherof I send your Lordship a copy) you may perceive where he lefte the Spanysh fleete. It is hard now to resolve what advyse to give her Majestie for disarming, either by sea or land, untill it shall be knowen what is become of the sayd fleete. The Earl of Comberland telleth me that the Lord Admyrall would be this night at the Downes. And so I most humbly take my leave. At the Camp, in the Lord Generall's tent, the 8th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

The comyssioners* landed this morning at Dover; they write nothing touching the Duke of Parma's proceedings.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, I send unto your Lordship the inclosed two letters, which I received this morning from Mr. Henrie Killegrew, both of them bearing date 31st of July, by one of which it may appear to what extremitie the companies serving there are likely to grow unto, and what daunger may ensue, if their weeklie lendings be not contynued unto them. It may therefore please your Lordship, seeing that the money cannot so readily be had, to try the merchaunt adventurers, who have not long sythens sent over certain shippes laden with cloth into Medleburgh, to deale with them either for this loane, or taking up of so much money by ex-

* Who had been sent over to treat with the Duke of Parma.

change, as may serve for the lendings one month ; for that otherwise they have no meane to be holpen there. And so I humblie take my leave. From Gravesend, this 9th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

The Flushingers were forced to retyre from Dunkirk the last storme, and the gap left open, being not as yet retrieved. But I hope that through the Lord Admyrall's care, they wyll be stopped in their passage. Sir W. Russell doth put us in hope that there will be some powther sent hither from Amsterdam, for in Zeland there is none to be had. The 1,000 shott under the conduct of Sir Thomas Morgan are arrived, which may be made parte of the 6,000 footemen. It were not wysdome, untill we see what wyll become of the Spanish fleet, to disarme too fast, seeing her Majestie is to fight for a kingdom. It were meet that the governor of the merchant adventurers were sent to Stoade, to take some money.

SIR FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, to the end that her Majestie might grow to some full resolution what forces were meete to be kept both by land and by sea, I moved her Majestie to send for my Lord Admyrall, and to appoynt both his Lordship and the Lord Stewarde to be at the courte on Sundaye next at St. James's, there to confer with the rest of her counsell what were fyt to be done therin, wherunto her Majestie assented.

I wrote to my Lord Admyrall yesternight to advertyse how many shippes he thought meete to be entertayned in paye, and that the lesser shippes that were not thought serviceable might be discharged. At his repayre to the courte his Lordship may be dealt withall therin.

For the sending of some money to the fleete for the re-

liefe of the decayed men, I thinke the same may be differred untill her Majestie's return. Touching your Lordship's opinion for the sending of four shippes well appoynted, to followe the Spanishe fleete, I thinke if it had bene thought of in tyme, they might have bene very well employed, but I feare it wyll now be too late.

This daye at noone, her Majestie, dyning with the Lord Stewarde in his tent at the campe, had advertysment sent unto her from Sir Thomas Morgan, who is arryved at Marget with the 1000 shott, that the Duke of Parma was determined this spring tyde to come out, and that he looked by that time the Spanishe fleete would be returned, according to an agreement between him and the Duke of Medyna. But this matter, though it were effectually apprehended at the fyrst, yet her Majestie doth not so much account of it, as that it wyll worke any stay here, as was determined uppon. A conceipt her Majestie had, that in honour she could not returne, in case there were any lykelihood that the enemy would attempt anything. Thus your Lordship seeth that this place breedeth courage. I feare now more the hand of God in respect of the unseasonablenes of the weather, than the enemy.

And so I most humbly take my leave. At the Courte in the campe, the 9th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship to commaund,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM.

* * * * *

The Prince of Parma, I take him to be as a beare robbed of her whelps; and no doubt but, being so great soldiour as he is, that he will presently, if he may, undertake some great matter, for his credit will stand now thereupon. It is reported for certain, that the Duke of Sidonia standeth somewhat jealous of hym, and the Spanyards begin to hate hym,

their honour being touched so nere, and many of their lyves spent. I assure your Honour, not so little as fyve thousand men lesse than when we fyrst saw them nere Plymouth; divers of their ships sunke and taken: and they have nothing to say for themselves in excuse, but that they came to the place appoynted, which was at Calais, and there stayed the Duke of Parma's coming about twenty-four hours, yea, and untill they were fired owt. So this is my poor conclusion, that if we may recover nere Dunkirk this night or to-morrow morning; so as their power may see us returned from the channel and ready to encounter them, if they once sallie owt, that the next news you shall heare will be the one to come to meting against the other; which when it shall come to passe, or whether there be meting or no, let us all with one consent, both high and lowe, magnifie and prayse our most gracious and mercifull God, for his infinite and unspeakable goodness towards us.

Wrytten with much haste, for that we are ready to set sayle to prevent the Duke of Parma this southerly wynd, if it please God, for truly my poor opinion is that we should have a great eye upon him.

August 10th, 1588.

Postscript. Sithens the wryting herof, I have spoken with an Englishman which came from Dunkirk yesterday, who sayth, upon his life, there is no fear of the fleete. Yet would I willingly see it!

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My deare good Lord, I cannot sufficiently imagyne how to render you thanks enow for your loving and honorable care of me, but it doth me so much good to hear oft from you, and specially in this so noble and kind manner, as I can no way express it, but only with so just and so an assured good will, as never to fayle you whilst I lyve. And

now, my good Lord, I must most earnestly entreat you not to think me forgettfull that I have not wrytten to you of late. The true cause I trust you hear and conceave, which is indeede the continuall toyl and business I have bene in since my coming to this camp; but now, God be thanked! the most difficulties are past which lay most upon myne own hand, and our gracious mistress hath bene here with me to see her camp and people, which so enflamed the harts of her good subjects, as I think the weakest person amonges them is able to match the proudest Spaniard that dares land in England. But God hath also fought myghtely for her Majestie, and I trust they be too much daunted to follow their pretended enterprise. My Lord, this gentleman hath seen our camp, and a fayr shew I made my Lord Tresarer, who came from London to see us; he shall tell you how wylling and well furnished men here be; and, being now very full of busines, I wyll take my leave, and commyt my dearest good Lord and frend to the Almighty.

From the camp, this 15th of August.

Ever your Lordship's most assured,

R. LEYCESTER.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO LORD BURGHELY.

My very good Lord, your letters of the 17th of this present month I received this evening, at six of the clocke, wherein I am advertized that her Majestie's pleasure is, the whole campe sholde presentlie be dissolved, and that those companies brought over by Coronell Morgan shold be placed in Kent, neare the sea coast: upon the receipt wherof I did presentlie send away by post to the camp, with such careful order for the performaunce therof as was requisite. Being very glad, that although it be her Highnes' pleasure to discharge the soldiers, yet the captaines and officers still

to be contynued in wages, which will be no small encorage-ment to them to persevere in that forwardnes which hitherto they have shewed. And even so I bidd your Lordship right hartelie farewell.

Wansted, the 18th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

Postscript. My Lord, the sooner your Lordship do discharge the Thresurer, who is there with us, the sooner and better the matter will be discharged.

W. ASHEBY TO LORD BURGHELEY.*

I have nothing, right Honorable, to advertise, having written yesterday to you, and withall a letter inclosed from Mr Fowler, touching the proceeding with Denmarke. These few lines I send to certifie your Honor of the receipt of the safe-conduct, with a letter from the Lords of the counsell touching the transporting Spa. to Flaunders, who are seeking if any one Scotsman would venture to passe from hence by the north of Scotland into Spayne only with the chiefest of them; but none of this country will undertake to transport any without a safe-conducte. The Kinge is in the north of Scotland; the Lord Cha. at his howse called Lawder Lodian, but expected to-morrow; uppon whose coming order will be taken for the dispatch of the Spanyardes. I will have care, according to the direction in the letter from the Lords of the Counsell, that satisfaction may be made for this murther of the trompeter before the safe-conduct passe out of my hands. There is four shippes prepared for the transporting, and the Spaniards are almost all come to Edenburgh

* This letter, without date, seems to relate to the Spaniards cast ashore in Scotland, in their flight to the north.

and Lith, and Burnesland in Fife, to the number of 600. Many are dead sythence they came, and many still in miserable case, and diverse fynd themselves so well entertayned amongst noblemen, as they be loth to part from hence.

I thinke some of the cheife shall stand here to redeme one Lambe's son of Lyth, and some other Scotsmen, in the inquisition in Spayne. What is done your Honour shall understand by the next, and so I most humbly take my leave.

Your Honour's to command most humbly,

W. ASHEBYE.

LORD NORTH TO LORD BURGHELEY.

The untimely death, my singular good Lord, of that noble Earle of Lester,* is a great and generall loss to the whole land, and cannot but be generally and greatly lamented of the good and best sorte. In his life he advanced the glory of God, and loyally served his soveraigne; he lived and died with honor, in speciall grace and favor of her Majestie and the good subject. We are all like Christians and frends to praise the name of the Lord, for this his blessed deliverance out of this wicked and wretched world, and to prepare ourselves ready to waite on the will of our Lord God, seeing death is a thing most certaine, and the coming therof a thing most uncertaine. Now, my good Lord, for that I have my harte long sithence settled to love your Lordship, my purpose is to acquainte your Lordship with my actions, that what I do, or where I am, you shall have power to command me. The state of my bodie being farr from health, and yet not sicke, my grieve cannot be determined by all the

* The Earl of Leicester died on the 4th of September, of a fever caught on his way to Kenilworth, after the dismissal of the forces.

doctors of Cambridge. They send me now to the bathes, in hope the drinking the waters and bathing may do me good, whither I am going, and by the sufferance of God, will be there Thursday next, the 12th of this present; and there will abide (without contrary commandement) untill the 10th of the next moneth. Your good Lordship may thinke me over bold, that I do thus trouble you with these trifells. I am resolved to honor you above all the world, which I will testifie with all my words and deeds that issue from a faithfull harte. So praying the Lord God to bless your Lordship with all heavenly and earthly blessings, I take my leave.

At Kirtling, 9th September.

Your good Lordship's frend at commandement,

R. NORTH.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO SIR EDWARD STAFFORD.

Sir, the late accident of the death of the Quene-Mother ministering unto her Majestie occasion to send unto the King to condole with him for the same, as both the common custom among Princes, and the speciall affection and good will she beareth unto the King do require at her handes, she would not have fayled to have done the same, but she doubteth how her sending unto him at this time, whilst his realme standeth in such termes as since the Duke of Guise's death* it hath done, it might be construed of such as will be apt to interpret all things to the said King's disadvantage; and therefore, for that respect, her Highness did thinke meet to stay the sending of anie person untill she might understand from himself how he can allow thereof, which she wold have you signify unto him, wherein, uppon knowledge receaved from you, she

* The Duke of Guise, who had made himself dangerous to the crown by his power and designs, had been murdered by order of the King, in the latter part of the preceding year.

doth mean to do as she shall finde will be most agreeable to his good liking, being of herself very well bent to send some well chosen gent. unto him.

The Frenche ambassador hath taken his leave of her Majestie, who, upon the King's late letter, and also finding by the same, that his departure hence can no way prejudice, did readily give him licence to depart, and so within these three or four dayes he beginneth his journey, of whom I have thought good to say thus much unto you, that if, after the dispatch of his busines, which he pretendeth to be the cause of his going over, the King shall not be disposed to return him hither againe, you may do well to use such meanes as you can to procure that some other may be sent in his place, that is better affected to the maintenaunce of the amitie between the two crownes that this man hath shewed himself to be.

In Scotland things are now in very quiet termes, and so like to continue now that they are taken away in Fraunce who were like to have been the maintayners and nourishers of unquiet humors in that realme. Before, we began to feare of some alteration by certaine practises sett abroad 'out of that realme, the rather because the Earl of Huntley was then newly made the captain of the King's garde, a man suspected in religion and ill affected to this realme.

The Duke of Parma lyeth still without attempting anything, only we heare that some part of his forces do marche towards the frontiers of Fraunce, to be employed, as is given out, for the countenance and support of those that remayn of the League. But it is doubted he will expect direction out of Spaine, before he engages the King in a matter of so great consequence, and that they of Spayne will be too well advised to give offence to the King of Fraunce, considering the evill successe of their affaires this last year, and that they have enough to do in the Lowe Countries, and also that the preparations here do make them doubt some further attempt by sea from hence. Men of best judgment and best affected here

do wishe that Spain would make himself a party with those of the League, as the only way to drawe the King to use the King of Navarre's service and those of the religion.*

Because it may be the King shall be urged especially upon the return of the ambassador with the complaints of some of his subjects, spoyled by the English pyrates, who have not obtayned such redresse as were to be wished, you may do well by such meanes as by you shall be thought meet, to possess him before-hand with an opinion that there hath not wanted care here to yield them due redresse, but that the state of the time is suche by reason of the differences between Spaine and this crowne, as all things can not be performed that were convenient, which proceedeth of the great number of shippes of warre which her Majestie is forced to keepe at sea, for the annoyance of the King of Spaine, wherof manie, being adventurers, do oftentimes exceed their commission, spoyling of such as are in league with her Majestie, which being once possessed therof, have so manie shiftes to avoyd the daunger of the lawe, as it is impossible to reduce them to make exact restitutions, though there do not want in her Majestie and in the Lords of the Councell, all the care that may be to yield satisfaction to the King's subjects.

And this may be further justly avouched, that though the redresse have not been equall to their losses, yet hath it been greater then that which of their side hath been yielded to the subjects of this realme, who have receaved none at all, wherof they do not fayle to complaine as earnestly as the King's subjects do to him. And so I byd you hartely farewell. From the Court at Rychmond, the 28th of January, 1588.

Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* In the latter days of his reign, Henry III. was obliged to fly to the Protestant party for aid against his rebellious subjects.

WILLIAM HOBBY TO LORD BURGHLEY.*

Leave your Lordship to understand, that there is a castell in the parish of Skemfryth, in the countie of Montgomerie, your Lordship graunt full authoritie unto myne owné selfe, I am a poore subject of the Quene's, if there be any treasure there, your Lordship shall know it, for by the voice of the countrey there is treasure. No man in remembrance was ever seene to open it, and great wars hath been at it, and there was a place not farr from it whose name is Gamdon, that is as much to say *the game is down*. Pray you, good my Lord, your letter to the castle, craving your Lordship's free authoritie to open, and if treasure be there I will use it as it ought to be, and I will stand to your Lordship's consideration to give me what you please. For the countrey saith there is greate treasure.—The voyce of the countrey goeth there is a dyvell and his dame, one sitts upon a hogshed of gold, the other upon a hogshed of silver, yet nevertheless, with your Lordship's full power and authoritie they shall be removed, by the grace of God, without any charge to the Quene and your Lordship. If that treasure be there, then I will looke for something at your handes. So praying your Lordship's answer for the present despatche, so I bid

* "William Hobby's request to Lord Burghley for his leave to drive the devill and his dam from some treasure hid in his Lordship's castle at Skemfryth, in Montgomeryshire, 1589."

This singular letter is a curious illustration of superstitions which still exist in many parts of the country, though fast disappearing. Curiously enough, in the original the Lord Treasurer has acceded to his petitioner's request, by signing his own name at the end. On examining it more closely, I, however, think the signature may be a forgery; Burghley's signature was not unfrequently counterfeited.

The saying, "The Devil and his Dam," is familiar to every reader of Shakespeare: it is very difficult to explain its origin, for the legendary lore which would explain it, is on this point defective. But the reader of the Saxon romance of Beowulf, will not fail to compare with it the evil Grendel and his mother.

your Lordship farewell. From the Tower of London, this 28th of Aprill, 1589.

Your Lordship's to commande,

WILLIAM HOBBYE.

Your Lordship's owne hand write the Lord Treasurer underneath this petition, as for example,

The LORD TREASURER.

MR. DAVID POWELL TO LORD BURGHLEY.

May it please your Honour to be advertised, that in Lent last past, I made an especial journey to the councill in the Marches of Wales, about the multitude of alehowses and the wandering of rogues in disorder, without controlment, from countrie to countrie, (in the which thinges the justices of peace have greatly neglected their duties,) and have procured her Majestie's letters to be directed to the justices of peace in all the shires of Wales, commanding them, according to their dutie and the trust reposed in them, to reforme those disorders, and of their doings and reformations to certifie the said councill the 20th day of June nexte. And that your Honor may see how requisite it is to have a redresse in that behalfe, I have sent your Lordship by this bearer, a true certificate of the alehowses in Denbighshire, (which is but a little shire,) wherby you may estimate of all the shires in Wales, and thereafter judge of that service.

And thus with all humilitie, I take my leave. From my Chamber in Little Brittain, in London, the 28th of Aprilis, 1589.

Your Honor's most humble at commandment,

DAVID POWELL.

For matters of religion, we are quieter in North Wales then we were wonte to be.

SIR THO. BODLEY* TO THE COUNCIL.

It may please your Lordships to be advertised, that being at Berghen op Zoome, your Lordships' letter, written the 13th, came to my handes the 22nd of this moneth, wherunto by reason of my absence from the place of residence of the Generall States, I have no meanes at this present to make suche answer as is requisite. But I go from hence to the Hage within these two daies, where I will not faile, according to your Lordships' direction, to presse them to deliver in writing the particular proofes of those generall accusations whiche they have published in their placcart against my Lord Willughby. I do assure myself that their deputies in England have had expresse charge to deale in those matters; and I knowe they were carefull before their departure, to gather all their informations that might make for their purpose. Howbeit, upon this occasion presented, to deliver my opinion under humble correction, and without any prejudice to your Lordships' censures, all their allegations, which I have heard them hitherto produce, are so slenderly proved, as I thinke, for mine own parte, both her Majestie and my Lord hath been dishonorably dealt withall by them. For all this countrey doth knowe, and it hath bene openly and usually spoken in all places, that the only losse of Gertrudenbergh was the willfullness and passion of some fewe, who to colour afterwards their unadvised enterprise, and to prevent that the common people might not call them to account,

* Sir Thomas Bodley will ever be famous as the founder of the Bodleian library at Oxford. He was born at Exeter in 1544, and spent his youth at Geneva, where his father took refuge during the reign of Mary. He was afterward entered at Magdalen College, Oxford, under the tutorship of the celebrated Dr. Humphreys. In 1583, he was made gentleman usher to Queen Elizabeth, and was afterwards employed in numerous embassies. At the Hague, he was both ambassador, and, from the position in which Elizabeth stood to the States, he was admitted one of the Dutch Council of State, taking his seat next to Count Maurice. He died in Jan. 1612.

published that placcart wherof your Lordships make mention, and which I do not doubt but in conference with the Deputies, or by that which their generall assembly shall deliver unto me, your Lordships will easily discover to be but a sinister practice, and full of unjust imputations, in respect of any disloyal act wherewith my Lord may be charged; the consideration wherof I leave to your Lordships' wisdom, and take my humble leave. From Berghes, May 28th, 1589.

Your Lordships' most humble to commaund,

THO. BODLEY.

— TO LORD BURGHELEY.*

My duty remembred, it may please your Honour to be advertized, the 25th of this month, there came into the harbour a flyboate from the roade of Cascales; the fleete then sailing into the sea, Captaine Harcott brought in the flyboate full of sick men. He saith, after they had been at the Groyne, Sir John Norris sailed toward Penecheo, and there tooke the towne and castle. There my Lord of Essex killed a Spaniard hand to hand; and from thence they marched towards Lisborne, and did take the suburbes, and continued there two dayes and three nightes. In the time of being in the suburbes, the gallies did more harme then the highe towne. The highe towne put out a bravado on the side where Sir Frauncis Drake's regiment did lye, wherein Capitaine Carre and Capitaine Brett were slaine. And so returning to Cascales, there was some small number by sicknes lost. And coming to Cascales, they tooke the towne and the castle. It is said the friers caused the castle to be taken for safety of their own lives. He saith he knoweth not where the fleete is become, for he was putt from them in a

* This letter relates briefly the celebrated expedition to Portugal, in 1589, under Norris and Drake, in which the Earl of Essex distinguished himself so much by his courage.

tempest in a night. The captaine hath no passport. He mett at Usshant my Lord of Cumberland's pinnace, which had taken two prizes, and he saith that at Usshant there was Collonel Sydney, and one other collonel, in a shipp seeking for some prizes, who be come from the fleets. It is possible he hath some secrett newes, which I cannot learne. The Tiger and the Swallow, with two pinnaces, are at a road by Haselworth Castle. The captaines are Captaine Winter and Captaine Bostocke.

Thus I take my leave of your Honor. From Portesmouth, this 25th of June, 1589.

LORD NORTH TO LORD BURGHLEY.

I am given to understand, my special good Lord, that the mariage between Mr. Robert Cecill and Mistres Brooke* will shortly be solemnised, and if I can come by any good thing worthie the sending, I will not fail to do it, otherwise I will undoubtedly, if God so will, honor the feast, and the least that longeth to your Lordship, with my presence, and do all other services in my power, praying your good Lordship to lett me know the time and place. Your good Lordship seeth how very ready I am to trouble you. For the subsidy matters, when the Quene's letter and bookes and commission come down, I will do all that I can with good conscience to further that service, leaving every man a good and large peniworth of his own goods, and yet advance the rate. As there shall happen any occasion in this shire worthie advertising, I will forthwith repaire with my intelligence to your Lordship, upon whom I will with all frendly love and service depend, trusting your good Lordship will remember to send me word of the mariage, if you will

* The daughter of Lord Cobham.

have so ill a guest. So praying God to bless your Lordship with long life and honor, I take my leave.

At Kirtling, 28th July.

Your good Lordship's most assured to commande,

R. NORTH.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MICHAEL HICKES.

I thank you for your letter. The books be the same I writt for. Our newes is here from France good, for Mylls hath bene with Gourden, that is governour of Calais, who wept most bitterly for the death of his King,* standeth now firme to this successor, and when the Quene offered to recommend him to the King of Navarr's favour, he aunswered bravely, that he would require no forrain recommendation, but wold, as he had deserved regard of the late King dead, so recover this prince's favor by his own merit, promising ever firmly to hold this towne at his Majestie's devotion. The camp lieth still afore Paris, and acknowledgeth this King for their soveraigne, being the bravest company of soldiers that ever France had together, only wanting pay, which the Quene will or must help them with.

The King of Navarr hath under his hand and seale vowed no way to chaunge any religion, only reserving to him and his, as before, free profession.

I have received this letter inclosed from Mr. Newton, who is at Putney, and will be here to-day. If Portington think to get it without cost, he is I find deceived. I will deale with her importunately, though as you see she hath the start of us. What I can do he shall know to-morrow, when I come, for I have now received all favour for the Quene that

* Henry III. of France was murdered at St. Cloud by a fanatical monk named Jacques Clement, on the 1st of August, 1589. He was succeeded by the King of Navarre as Henry IV.

I can wish, in sundry that I wold come to her, and so I grow now weary of this west course.

Yours,

R. CECILL.

This Mylls, you know, was toward Randall. He brings word that of the six orders of Friers, five in every howse had vowed by sacrament to do this villany. In Paris they make bonfires for the act, but it cannot long hold out.

I have made a suggestion that old Colborne will in no wise suffer the other Armetreading to be joined with him. My Lady Stafford is very round with me in the matter, and will move the Quene for Armtreading. What may be done, shal be done.

JAMES RITHER TO LORD BURGHELEY.

I cannot satisfie myself in duty to my country, unlesse I delyver over to your honorable Lordship the discoveries I fynde of the particularities of this countrie from tyme to tyme, in the which thinking myself skilfull enough when I dedicated my last endeavors therin to your good Lordship, by an accident since I knowe more, and therefore will become an humble sutor to your Honor, to have the profytting of that symple pamphlett which I presented, of that importance it pleased the right honorable my very good Lord and Ladie of Warwick to proffer me the stewardship of the late Marquesse's lands about Kendall, which I refusing, was yet content to execute the thing till such tyme as their better choyces might lay it upon a more meet person for that charge. In the execution of this office very lately, I passed through the people of two great dales, the one called Dent, or Danett, as some say, and so lyke, when the Danes were dryven to any shift, to be their resting, as your Lordship's lands of Tanfield, sometimes also called Danefield, where

yet remayne extansies of their encamping. The other greater part is called Sedbar. A thinge worthy noting I shall recount to your Lordship.*

In this Sedbar, the vycar could present to me but only four disordered persons, which I bound to good abearing as bar-rators that haunted ale-houses, the great fault of this country, and were dayly fighting, quarrelling, and disquietting this good people. In Dent only one was brought before me, for very undutifull partes to his father; this is notable amongst so many hundreth householders. Now your Lordship cometh to the marvell; no justice of peace is resident within thirty myles of them in their county, and he and . . . a head constable they have, which, if he did anything amongst them touching this office, I feare me it wold fall out worse for their government. In the one parish no gentilman, in the other only two, and those very mean.

These people, situate amongst the wilde mountains and savage fells, are generally affected to religion, quiett and industrious, equall with Hallyfax in this, excelling them in civility and temper of lyfe, as well in abstaining from drinke, as from other excesses. These people are, as they term themselves, customary tenants, and greatly addicted to raise and maintain customs. They have no courts kept this many years past. I had much to do to make them knowe the high aucturity of parliaments, which they thought could not cutt off any custom, no, not for reformation of any offence; but before all, their custom of quiett and industrious lyfe I willed them to keep, and so penall statutes cannot touch them. Promoters begin to abuse them and themselves notably.

This is that part of the county which heretofore I have noted to your Lordship to be 50 myles from my house, and

* The town and parish of Sedburgh is situated in Yorkshire, on the borders of Westmoreland, at the bottom of the Houghill Fells, and is about eleven miles from Kendal. Dent is a township belonging to it.

but only this one justice for a good tyme within this compass, yet I may not by this ensample of duty, &c. seem to shewe to your Lordship that justices are not requisite for these partes; for spending my tyme in houshold with my good and honorable lady the Countesse of Cumberland, I see the people here in Craven almost worne out of due obedience to her Majesty's auctority, for a justice may dyrect out his warrant here twise to one township for offenders, and shall be fayne to go fetch the third tyme, if he will have their companies. This virtuous ladie, as many other of God's favours to this commonwealth, is placed here, I trust, for her Majesty's good, for her actions in this ebb of her estate, in relieving the poore, in settling the idel a work upon her own cost, and that which is principal in spreading good doctrine by her life and practise, are not unworthy to be left in remembrance to all posterities, only she hath shoven herself too pitiful to night hunters, which now are grown to such numbers, as she is content to see justice done upon some of them. Of this sort there are that do all kind of robberies, under colour of stealing flesh, as they terme it.

To conclude with all the novelties I can give your Lordship out of these northern parties, as my last that ever I shall give I fear me, the Skotts are busy on the borders with murders, and further within with matters of marriadg.* God turne it to the good of England! for it is he that only worketh myracles, to make us newe friends of old enemies. The Dane and Skott are nations naturally hatefull to us, yet, as I said, God and under his mercy good government by him favored and blessed may effect marvell. I must ask your Lordship's pardon, and with the same crave of God your increase of honor and comfort.

Barden, this 26th of Sept. 1589.

Your Honor's in duty bounden,

JAMES RITHER.

* The marriage of King James with the daughter of the King of Denmark.

SIR ANTHONY THOROLD TO LORD BURGHEY.

My duty to your good Lordship humbly remembered, it may please the same to call to remembrance that by dyvers statutes heretofore, lawes have bene established to abolish th'excessive number of roges, and to dryve them to settle and abyde where they were borne, or last abyding by the space of three yeres, and lykewise to charge any towne or parishe to kepe and relieve all the poore therin borne or last inhabiting by the space of three yeeres, which did great good where the same was executed. But now the statute made in the last parliament for expelling of innemates, I feare wyll send ten tymes as many abroad to begge as at any tyme before did, except it may please her Majestie, by proclamation or otherwyse, to give order by some lawfull meanes, for tolleration therof to all suche as at th'end of the last parliament were innemates during their tymes onely and no longer, of which there be a great number in every towne and village which shall be lyke to peryshe for lacke of relief and lodging, or ells wander abroad in excessive numbers, which I feare wolde breed great inconvenience. That parte of the statute which doth prohibite erecting of cottages from henceforth otherwise than the same doth allowe, I hope will do much good.

As I am bold to sygnify my symple conceit in this, even so presuming of your honorable acceptance, I am bold to signify unto your Lordship another matter as nedefull to be some way reformed or stayed, if not more than this former, which is the early marrying of peasants and other poore folks, having neither house, lands, nor goods to lyve upon, which in short tyme must needs breed a monstrous swarme of beggers. Since I may remember, very fewe of that sorte did marry untill they were 30 yeres old, or very neare it, nor then except they were first provyded of a howse to dwell in, but now they marry under 20, having no regarde how to lyve, nor where to dwell. If it might please your Lordship, according to your great wisdom, to be a meanes (by the bysshops or otherwise)

to staye and prohibite such fond, symple, and undiscrete marryages, before the parties achieve to reason or discretion to consyder therof, I think your Lordship shold do to God and her Majestie good service, and a great good to the commonwelthe.

Yet a third mischief (which is horrible) of late years, which is wonderfully increased, and one common in every towne, village, or hamlet, in these partes, and (as I heare) is lykewise in other countreys. Young able fellowes do wickedly allure foolish lewd young women to folly, promysing them marriage, and when they are perceived to be with child, the men runne away into unknown places in farre countreys, leaving the woman also to begge with her child. Some course wold be devysed (if it might be) to restraine that kind of wickednes, which at this day doth abounde. Satan so farre playeth with such people, that no shame nor ordinary punishment will helpe. Thus craving pardon for this my over much boldness, but urged therunto in respect of my duty to God and our gracious Quene, and unto your Lordship her Highnes' Lieutenant in this shire,* most humbly I take my leave.

From Marston, this 6th of November, 1589.

Your Lordship's to commaund,

ANTHONY THOROLD.

JAMES RITHER TO LORD BURGHLEY.

By long observances I have ever noted, right Honourable, the people of this isle, though allways divided by the auncient enmities of England and Skotland, yet the neerer any part of our pale is to Skotland, the less enmity, the more accordance in manners; not that the Skottes take of us, but we of them, as the evill is ever more infective than the good.

* Lincolnshire.

Greatly in the farr north partes is commended the especial praises which the King of Skottes should give of late to all northern gentillmen, with his more regard of them than of the rest, then the pulling down of the Lord Ambassador's armes by night, being sett up over the door of his lodging. In Skotland, these things I could not hear, being about the court when my said Lord returned, albeit I was much conversant with some northern gentylmen that had been that jorney. But be these rumors false or trewe, they are rimæ by which we may easilie spie into their myndes throughout these speeches what they like. Also out of these partes I perceive divers that have horses to sell, and were wont to carry them to the great horse faire at Malton, in the east partes of this shire, as now purposed to go to Kaerlyle with them. They finde meanes now to convey them into Skotland from more inward fairs. But why shold that needy nation esteem our horses at a greater pryse then our owen country people do? for it is the hope of Skotts money that drawe these horses to Kaerlyle, and so the sellers confess. There are also that sattel dwelling that way upon no substantiall causes that I can learne. I wysh no more fugitives thither, for they watch a tyme of returne, which they wyll by all meanes hasten. Pardon my conceyt, my good Lord, it is Kentysh, as far from the condition of these in mynde as in country, and yet as near fully as the Skott is in good will to the true English. We have many Skottish wyttys amongst us. The borderer's property of taking more then his own (for they never steal) is gotten so into us, that cattell, sheep, and horses were never so hard to keepe from theeves' handes, even in the hart of this shire, as now: the complaints are many and great, the redress small. The Lord in his mercy graunt us all trew English hartes, and preserve our such vigilant preservers as he hath hitherto blessed us with, under this her Majestie's most flourishing empire, which we humbly

beseech hym to contynue in his accustomed favour. Harwood, this 29th of Aug. 1590.

Your Honor's most humbly to dyspose,

JAMES RITHER.

SIR T. HENEAGE TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My Lord, this bearer, Lazarus Melchesio, coming hither yesternight, and asking strange questions, with desire to delyver letters to her Majestie from the King of Denmark, I thought good, when I heard therof, to acquaynt my Lord Chamberlayne withall, wherwith myself thought best to let him know that it was not the manner of our princess to receive letters at the hand of strangers, except they were embassadors, and therefore, taking his letters of hym, and acquaynting her Majestie withall, (who commanded me to read them to her,) upon consideration wherof, and fynding that the words of the letters, importing his taking by the Turkes, with his escape, doth not accord with the words of his passport, which sheweth that he was taken in going in pilgrimage to Compostella, her Majestie hath willed me to signify to your Lordship that her pleasure is, he shold have a passport made to departe presently into his own country, or from this realme whither he wold, without any tarriance. This much and no more have I leisure to wryte to your Lordship, attending upon Don Antonio, King of Portugall, but commend me humbly unto you, and letting your Lordship knowe I suspecte this man to be both a Spanyard and a spy. At the Courte, 23rd of September, 1590. The letter from Denmark is here inclosed.

Your Lordship's bound at commandement,

T. HENEAGE.

SIR ROGER WILLIAMS* TO LORD BURGHLEY AND THE COUNCIL.

Moste Honorables, yesterdaie it was your Lordship's pleasure to shewe the roll of captaines by their names. More then half of them are knowen unto me sufficient to take charges; a greate number of others, besides the rest in that roll, although not knowen unto me, maie be as sufficient as the others, perhapps knowen unto men of farr better judgment then myselfe. To saie truthe, no man ought to meddle further than his owne charge. Touching the three captaines that your Lordships appointed to go with me, I knowe Polate and Coverd, but not the thirde. There is one Capitaine Polate, a Hampshire man, an honest gentleman, worthie of a good charge. There is another not worthie to be a sergeant of a band, as Sir John Norris knows, with many others; and I do heare by my Lord of Sussex it is he. Captain Coverd is worthie, but not comparable unto a dozen others that have no charge; but whatsoever your Lordships direct unto me, I muste accept, and will do my best endeavour to discharge my dutie towards the service comitted unto me. But be assured that the more new captaines that are made, the more will begg, I meane will trouble her Majestie after the

* The important aids with which Elizabeth furnished Henry IV. during the first part of his reign, both in money and men, are well known. Soon after the writing of this letter, Sir Roger Williams passed over with 600 men to Dieppe, near which town the enemy lay. The first service he did was, by forcing the enemy to depart and clear the wayes infested by them, and he was highly commended for his valour by the King in letters to the Queen. He then accompanied the King to the suburbs of Paris, and there, by a short letter, challenged the Spanyards, who held the city against the King, to send 200 pikes and 100 musketeers to encounter with so many English in the field. Afterwards the King sent him with his troops to Noyon, contrary to what he had in command from the Queen, and there hazarded much English blood, whereby he incurred the Queen's displeasure.

warrs, unless the olde be provided for. I must confess I wrote effectual for one Captaine Smithe unto Sir Philipp Butler; two of the name Sir John Norris will confess to be well worthie to commaunde, at the least, three hundred men a-piece. He that I named, my desire is that he may be one of myne. I protest, on my poore credytt, I never delt with her Majestie concerning any of those captaines, nor anything that your Lordships spake yesterdaie before me; but true it is, I spake before the Earle of Essex and Sir John Norris, it was pittie that young captaines should be accepted and the old refused. True it is that I toulde them also that the lieutenants of the shire knew not those captaines so well as ourselves. On my creditt, my meaning was the deputies lieutenants, the which, as it was toulde me, had made all these captaines. My speeches are no lawe, nor scarce good judgment, for the warrs were unknown to me 22 yeres agon. Notwithstanding, it shall satisfie me, that the greatest generalls in that time took me to be a souldier, for the which I will bring better proofs than any other of my qualitie shall deny. Humbly desiring your Lordships' accustomed good favor towards me, I reeste to spend my life alwaies at her Majestie's pleasure, and at your Lordships' devotion. (March 27th, 1591.)

THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

After our hasty commendations, her Majestie, understanding that the King of Spaine's fleete is come into the North Seas, and it is doubted will make some attempt or incursions on some part of her Majestie's dominions, to the annoyance of her subjects, hath thought fit to lett you know so much, requiring you to let the States of Holland understand, forasmuch as her Majestie is presently to put in readines and set to sea her whole navy, to resist or prevent such attempts as the enemy may do as is above said, for which purpose she hath already sent such her shippes as lay now at hand,

to impeach any hostile action to be attempted from Dunkirk, or those parts to the west parts of this realme, her Highnes thinketh it very needefull that such warlike shippes as are in Holland should be presently sent to lye before Dunkirk, to withstand whatsoever in the absence of her Majestie's ships may be attempted, to remaine there and upon that coaste untill the returne of her Majestie's shippes, emploied as above said, for some certaine knowledge of the enemie's purpose, to be further signified to you from hence. We have to the like intent written to Sir Robert Sidney, and therefore the matter being of so great importance, her Majestie doubteth not of your carefullness in the due and speedie accomplishment of the premisses with all earnestnes, and to advertise us speedily of your proceedings. And so we bid you hartely farewell. From the Court at Theobald's, the 17th of May, 1591.

Your loving frends,

W. BURGHLEY.

H. DERBY.

C. HOWARD.

H. HUNSDON.

J. WOLLEY.

THOMAS BODLEY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

May it please your good Lordship, by my letter unto you the 14th of this month, I have signified that Sir Francis Vere was appointed by the Council of State before the intended siege of Zutphen or Deventer should be undertaken, and before the troupes of the country should assemble in those quarters, to endeavour the surprise of the fort of Zutphen: which we are informed at this very present, he hath performed very happily; so as now the countrey is freed from the enemy on this side the river, and their other designes made more easy by much to be atchieved by their forces. What numbers

of soldiers were within the fort, and what losse is sustained of one side or other, there is nothing certified in particular. Only this is yet signified by a letter sent in hast, that he tooke it with a stratagem, by the meanes of 13 souldiers which were cladde in boore's apparel, and armed underneath, and with the assistance and company of certain other boores of the countrey, which were knowen in the fort and neighbourhood, and contrived very privately to enter a wel, which they kept till such time as Sir Francis Vere possessed the place; because the advertisement is newly come, with a present opportunitie for the sending of my letter, I would not omit to impart it to your Lordship, and so I take my humble leave.

From the Hage, May 17, 1591.

Your Lordship's most humbly bounden,

THO. BODLEY.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MICHAEL HICKES.

Mr. Hycks, I can wryte you nothing but that all is well: my Lord holds on his progress, the Queen hunts and is merry, you shall do well to come to Portsmowth, and you shall do as well to leave all your recknings behind you.*

You cannot take any harme by bringing something to Portsmowth that is daynty, although Bess Cecill† say it is a shame for me thus to move you.

The French King will besiege Roan for certaine.

Your friend full assured,

R. CECILL.

* The Queen was on a progress in Sussex and Hampshire. Accounts of the hunting exploits will be found in Nichols's Progresses. Lord Burghley accompanied the court.

† Sir Robert Cecil married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke Lord Cobham.

THOMAS CHURCHYARD TO MRS. PENN.*

Good Mrs. Pen, I never deserved your dyspleasure, and have made her Majestie understand of my band¹ touching the Earl, and for fear of resting² I lie in the sanctuary, for albeit you may favour me, yet I know I am in your danger, and am honest and true in all myne actions. I fynd in court causes to forsake it and the realm too, yet wold I see you and all my friends well pleased, as knoweth God, who bless and preserve you to his pleasure.

Yours in all as becometh me at commandment lovingly,
T. CHURCHYARD.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MICHAEL HICKES.†

Mr. Hicks, your letters are welcome because they be not short; let mine not be unwelcome because they be not longe, for the good will is all one.

Sir W. Rawley and I dined together in London: we went to your brother's shop,‡ where your brother desired me to wryte to my wife, in anywise not to let anybody know that she paid under 3*l*. 10*s*. a yard for her cloth of silver. I

* Mrs. Penn was the mother-in-law of Michael Hickes. Poor Churchyard appears to have been continually in some difficulty. By other papers in the same volume from which this letter is taken, it would seem that Churchyard had taken lodgings of Mrs. Penn for the Earl of Oxford, giving his own bond for the payment, and that the Earl leaving without paying, the burden fell upon the poet.

¹ Bond.

² Arresting.

† The three following letters, without date, are placed here because they are written by, and addressed to, the same persons as the two last. The letters to Mrs. Penn exhibit much kind feeling.

‡ Baptist, the youngest brother of Michael Hickes, succeeded to his father's business. He was knighted by James I., and by Charles I. was created Baron Hickes, of Ilmington, in Warwickshire, and Viscount Camden, of Camden, in Gloucestershire.

mervaille she is so simple as to tell anybody what she paies for everything.

It costs me not much to send two horses, one to the Erle,* and another to you. If he meane to go, let him come home to meet us all to-morrow night at my howse, where we will suppe and go away on Monday, so as we may be in towne againe on Wednesday by noone, you to be at Court at night, and I to be here to do some busines. If you come not, let me know. If I heare not by 2 of the clock, I will expect. Leave the key of my chamber safe, and so neare my sleeping. I leave all things els to our meeting. Your frend, this Saturday night late. If my wife will send me her black cuff, I will send her on Monday a better.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MRS. PENN.

Good Mrs. Penn, I am very sorry to heare how extreme syck you are, by your son Michael, my frend, and the rather, understanding that you have not bene well ever since you were here.

If you took any cold by coming to my Lord's howse, being no way accustomed to stirr abroad of long tyme, I hope it wyll away with discreet and warme keeping. If any other conceipt shold trouble you, surely this letter may assure you that there was not, nor is, the least suspicion conceived of any privity of yours to any ill of his who is now a prisoner in the Gate-house. For my part, I do wish the poore soule no harme. Some thyngs there are found out of his lewd disposition to the State, which is the cause of his restraint. With tyme it may be qualified, wherin though no private respects shall make better or worse my conceipts of any man's offences, yet shall I be the more apt in pity to deale for him (I must confess,) if he do forbear, according to his vile humour, to raile at Mr. Henry Cecill out of the

* Of Essex.

prison by letters, wherof I am informed, being of my blood, and one who never deserved of him but too well. For the letter you sent, it shews your sincerity, of which I was never doubtfull, as I have told your son often when he sued to me for him. I wish you helth and contentment, and so do byd you hartely farewell.

Your loving friend,

RO. CECYLL.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MRS. PENN.

Good Mrs. Penn, your son, Mr. Mich. Hycks, hath delt very earnestly with me, as from you, to be a meane to my Lord in Mr. Skynner's behalf, for mitigation of his fyne and enlargement owt of prison, of whom, although I have some cause to think unkyndnes, in a particular matter of mine owne, and that a very trifle, yet I am so persuaded in that point by your son, as that being now required by you, I will not only forget former cause, but also do for him any frendship I may in his honest and good occasion. For the matter it depends before the whole body of the counsaile, where my Lord hath but one voice in number and equall power with most of the rest, wherof some are greatly offended with Mr. Skynner's detraction of his submission, which in reasonable sort th'other Alderman hath performed willingly. You may deale with him therfore to leave to stick upon his owne opinion, wheron he standeth often too peremptorily, and to confide himself to the Lords' liking, who will the sooner be good unto him, to which I will not faile, as tyme serves, to procure my Lord's favourable furtherance. And so wishing I had some occasion to make you know indeed, how ready my good will shall be alwaies for you or yours, I committ you to God. From my lodging this Saturday night.

Your loving frend,

ROB. CECILL.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lorde, I do forbear to come unto you presently for lacke of full strength, and partly to avoyde your trouble from being combered with my weake body; yet I cannot but signifie this much unto you in writing, that I do marvell how her Majestie can be persuaded, that she is in as much danger of such as are called Purytanes as she is of the Papysts, and yet her Majestie cannot be ignorant that the Purytanes are not able to change the government of the clergie, but only by petition at her Majestie's handes. And yet her Majestie cannot do it, but she must call a parlement for it, and no acte can passe therof unless her Majestie shall give her royall assent therunto. And as touching their seditious going aboute the same, if the byshoppes, or my Lord Chauncelor, or any for them, could have proved *de facto*, that Cartewrighte and his fellow prisoners had gone aboute any such matter seditiously, then Cartewrighte and his followers had been hanged before this tyme. But her Majestie must keepe a forme of justyce, as well against Purytanes as any other subjectes, so that they may be tryed in tyme convenient, whether they be suspected for sedition or treason, or whatever name you shall give unto it, being purytanisme or otherwyse.

The 9th of Januarie, 1591.

RECORDER FLETEWOOD TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My very good Lord, I humbly thank your Lordship for your honorable letters to my Lord of Buckherst in my son's behalf. Every one of my masters of the benche do now disclaim and lay all the fault upon Mr. John Amersan, at Agmondesham, who, I feare, be at this present not in case to be talked withall, *quoniam lucidus est inter valla*, and especially ever about midsomer, and continually he is as malincholy as a curre dogge, according to the Bysshopricke pro-

verb, surely an unfit man for to be a ruler over yong gent of good famylies. My said Lord of Buckherst meaneth to send for hym.

DIARIUM.

My Lord of Lincoln kept his bedd in the Flete. He is glad that he is at libertie.

Kyrkham, using a stubborne abstinence for the space of three daies, doth now fall to his meate and drynke. His desire is, that he may have penne and inke to make his submission, and to have it delivered unto your good Lordship.

There is one John Vyneon, her Majestie's servant, in the Flete for new buildings at Ratclyff. He spake to me to be a sutor for hym unto your Lordship, and delyvered this letter unto me, the which I have bene bold to inclose within these my simple letters.

This day I rode to the Yeld Hall to sitt in the commision for strangers, and in the lower end of the Cheape-side to-wardes Poole's, there stood a man and a woman, both aged persons, upon a skafold, with papers upon their heades. The man was keper of the cundett there. These two lewd people in the night entered into the cundett, and washed themself, *et adtunc et ibidem turpiter exoneraverunt ventres eorum, etc.*

This day Mr. Recorder surrendered his office. The lot is now to be cast betwene Mr. Serjeant Drew and one Mr. Flemmynge, of Lincolne Inne. This present Satterday,

Your good Lordship's most bounden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

SIR JOHN BURGH TO LORD BURGHLEY.*

Ryght Honorable and my singular good Lord, the hope

* The following letters relate to the rich Spanish Carrack, of the taking of which Camden gives a detailed account under this year. The embezzlement by the takers called forth a proclamation by the Queen. Camden says, that besides what was plundered, its cargo was worth a hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

which I put your Lordship in my last letter of meeting the Carracks, has succeeded happily, for uppon the 3rd of this month we mett with one, and fought with her from ten of the clocke in the morning tyll one or two at nyght, which I wyll referr to Captaine Cross to make report of to your Lordship, being there present hymself. As for the shypp, she is very rich, but much spoyled by the soldiers being entred by force, and to which it was not possible for me to give order not of a long tyme, for that the Erle of Cumberland's men stood upon their Lord's commission, and thereby challenged as great a commaundement as I, notwithstanding that I made it knowen to the chief of them that I was joyned in her Majestie's commission with Sir Martyn Furbysher. I have now taken possession of her in her Majestie's name and right, and I hope, for all the spoyle that have been made, her Majestie shall receive more proffyt by her then by any shypp that ever came into England. I must crave pardon of your Lordship, that I have not advertysed your Honor of this, for my Lord of Cumberland's pynnace stole away unknowen to me, and I durst not spare none of the shypps tyll I was passed out of danger of meeting one of the King of Spaine's armados, who are dayly looked for about the islands. I wyll use the advyse of the best maisters of this fleete, for the safe harboring of this shypp; and if the weather be fair, I wyll bring her up as high as I shall be advysed by them I may with safety. I shall not be able to receive direction from your Lordship, because if this wynde holde, I hope to be in England very soon after this shall come to your Lordship's handes. And so, resting allwayes at your Lordship's devotion, I wyll most humbly take my leave of you. From aborde the Carrack, the 17th of August.

Your Lordship's most ready ever at commaundement,

JO. BURGH.

I most humbly beseche your Lordship to favour my poore credytt so much as I may be joyned in commission with

those that shall be sent for her Majestie for the surveying of the goods. Sir Francis Drake was on the lyke, and therefore I presume to desyre the same.

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER TO THE COUNCIL.

My humble dutie, my honorable good Lordes, I sente the gallion Rawley for England the fifteenth of Julie, with a prize of Brasill sugar, which I hope is well arrived.

I mette with Captaine Crosse in the Foresight, the thirtie-one daie of August, in fortie-seven degrees, and he gave me to understande that the Foresight, the Rowbucke, and my Lord of Cumberland's shippes, with the Daintie, and some others, have taken one Carrecke, and another is burnte, and the third it was my hard hap to misse in the Burlinges in a darke night, having sight of her light the seventh of Julie. But I am of opinion that my staie upon the coaste of Spaine made the Kinge's fleete staie so longe upon the island, as this Carrecke was the better come by. For I have kept everie daie upon the coast, as by this letter herin inclosed your Honours may partlie understand.

I understand by Captaine Crosse, that the Carrecke will want ankers, cabells, and sails, and for that I am able out of this shippe to furnish her in all thinges, I will for the better safetie of her, keepe betwixt the Lizard and Hushing, and so if God send weather, bringe her alongst for the Isle of Wight, for she draweth thirtie feete of water, and there we will staie to know your Honour's further pleasure, except the wynd force us to some other harbour. I will have as greate care as lyeth in my power to save all thinges; for I understand all the men of warr that hath bene at the taking of this and the other Carrecke that burnte herselfe, have made very greate spoyle, and hath it aboard their shippes. I will staie all the men of warr, and suffer nothinge to land, as neare as I may, till I heare from your Honours. I have had, since the first of August, a greate sicknes amongst my com-

panie, which forceth me to put into Plimouth to land my sicke men, but I meane not to staie there an hour, if the wynd serve me. I have staide the Foresight with me, for that I heare of some mutinie in the Carrecke with the other shippes in her companie; but I do not doubt if I meete with them but to pacify all thinges, till your Honours' further order. Thus, with my prayer to the Allmightie for your honorable estate, with all happines, I cease. This . . . of September, 1592.

Your Honour's most humble,

MARTIN FROBISHER.

Notwithstanding my commandement to Captaine Crosse, that he should go himselfe away, if he list, and leave the Foresight, he hath very disorderlie carried her away, only to convey such wealth away as he hath aboard him, which is given me to understand to the value of ten thousand pounds. This bearer, Richard Ferris, was in the Foresight with Crosse, and can advertise your Honours of Crosse's wealth, and all the companie, and touching the mutinie in the Carrecke.

My chiefe cause of staying the Foresight, was for one pointe to assist me for the wafting in of the Carrecke; and secondlie, for that the rest of the shippes that hath conveyed great store of welth, should see that I began first with her Majestie's shippe. I hope your Honours will consider the authoritie I have by her Majestie's commission, and my own poor reputation, so long as I commanded him not in any thing but for her Majestie's service. I understand there is one Captaine Martchant, and Crosse his brother, that are appointed to convey all these jewells and wealth. The rest of the shippes had, as I understand, a night and half a daie respect to carrie out of the Carrecke what they list, before Sir John Borrowes came; for the night before she was taken, Sir John Borrowes layed the Carrecke aboard, and received a shott that had like to have sunk him, which forced him to fall off againe to stop his leake, having six feet water in his hould. I

hope your Honours will restraints him of his liberty, till such time as Sir John Burrowes and I will advertise your Honours how he hath dealt with us both; for disorderlie he went from me off the coast of Spaine, and disorderlie he is now comen from Sir John Borrowes. I am taking in of some fresh men at Plimouth, so presentlie I mean to go to sea, to waft home the Carrecke. Thus, with my humble duty, I rest. Causson bay, this fourth of September, 1592.

MARTIN FROBISHER.

The letter my man brought to your Honours should have comen by Captaine Crosse.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, &c. TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Our humble duties remembered, it may please your Lordship to be advertised, that yesterdaie here arrived her Majestie's good shippe, the Gardland, with whom the daie before the Foresight, (wherin is Captaine Crosse,) happened to meete, and sent this bearer aboarde to Sir Martin Frobusher, to acquaynte him with the manner of taking the Carrique, and the state they left her in, (which also we leave wholly to his reporte.) But this last great storme arising, by occasion wherof the boat could not passe to returne Ferris aboard the Foresight, he contynuing in the Gardland, came in here with Sir Martin, who expecting that Captaine Crosse had followed him in, he, notwithstanding, in the night, as it seemeth, packed on more saile, and is passed to the eastwards. It is thought the shipp is rich, and because it is to be doubted that th'other consorts which are coming with the Carrique may happellie of purpose passe this place, we have thought it our duties to give your Lordship speedie knowledge hereof by this messenger, that the lyke order (as is here) may be sent to Portsmouth, Weymouth, and other ports eastwards, for the intercepting of those men-of-warre,

where they shall happen straglinglie to arrive. Thus, untill we heare further, we most humblie take our leave of your good Lordship. From Plymouth, the 5th of September, 1592.

Your good Lordship's most humbly to commaund,

FRA. DRAKE,

WILLIAM KYLLYGREWE.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR THO. BODLEY.

Sir, I cannot omitt at this time, but to remember you what good opportunitie there is to do some good in Flanders and Brabant, upon the death of the Duke of Parma,* and before any government can be established. Of which matter devising with Monsieur de Caron this day, by her Majestie's direction, I understande by him that the States there have thought of this matter before time, whilst the Duke was in danger, and have therefore since his deathe sent secretlie divers discrete messengers to the principal townes of Brabant and Flanders, as Antwerp, Bruges, Gant, and Bruxelles, and other like, to move them to take the advantage of the time, to be delivered of the government by Spaniardes and Italians, and to procure, if it may be, the pacification of Gant to be graunted to them and the countries, which course so taken by the States her Majestie liketh so well, as if you shall find any such entrie made by them, she would have you by all good meanes to further it, and to use her name in it, as a thing that she would greatlie allow of. And if they have not entered thereunto, yet her Majestie's pleasure is you should propound this matter unto them, and most earnestly require them in her name to delay no time to attempt it, the meanes whereof cannot be exprest so well to you or them, as themselves can thinke expedient, specially considering there be a great number of wise and good men of Brabant and Flanders, that are in the

* The Duke of Parma, who had led an army into France, to the aid of the League, died at Arras, on the 3rd of December, 1592.

Low Countries, under the States, fell from the tyranny of the Spaniarde; of which number it is likely the States and you shall find many fitt persons to be used herein, as well for the particular as the publike. The like I find by Monsieur Caron, being natif of Bruges, that he will emploie his credit the same way, onlie hast is required herin, and therefore I do make an ende hereof. From Hampton Court, the 9th of December, 1592.

Your verie loving frend,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

This evening after I received your letter, I had a letter brought me dyrected from Dover, by which I only am advertised from the Maior of his receipt of the letters which were sent yesterdays both from my Lords and from myself, and from the ambassador, and within a little tyme afterwards my Lord Cobham sent me certain letters, dyrected to him from his levetenant of Dover. To make a comment of those letters, for myne own ease, I leave it to you, and to gather what you think fitt thereof to advertise her Majestie, for that they contain variety of intelligence, and in some part a lewde act of him that brought the ladye's* letters that were dyrected to Diep out of their waye. And yet it seemeth that at the tyme of the writing of her letters to the governor of Diep she was in some feare of the enemy, and for that purpose dyrected her messenger both to the French King and to Monsieur Espernon, her brother. But what was contained in those letters I cannot gather.

By the letters of the Maior of Dover, you may perceive that it is likely the Queen's Majestie's good-will will be notified to the Lady, and to the governor of the towne also, and it may be they both will be the bolder to crave some provisions

* This lady was Gabrielle d'Estrées, commonly known as *la belle Gabrielle*, the favourite mistress of Henry IV.

of munitions and powder, wherof if the army be departed they shall have no nede. And yet we shall have more nede to kepe the same.

The great haste that the Lords made yesterday in the morning, showed a great difference betwene their humors and myne; for though they were quicke as martiall men are most commonly, and I slowe, as men in yeares are, yet I used no delay for the purpose to understand the cause of the perill, and so to provide remedy. In this I fynd by your letter, that her Majestie misliked not my slowness, whereby I am the better confirmed in my opinion.

I wrote to-day to you, that the augmentation of the shipping might staye awhile untill we might see how the weather would blowe over. For if the officers of the Admiraltie have commandment to prepare the shipping, it will cost her Majestie one monthe's charge by presting, rigging, and victualing, without a se'nnights' service.

The matter you write of concerning the answer to be made by Lock is very picquant for difficulties on both sides, wherin the rule of christian philosophie consisteth in difference betwixt *utile* and *honestum*. And yet *utile incertum*, and yet *honestum certum*. But if *honestum* were reciproche, it were to be preferred with more constancy. In private men's causes *cretisare cum cretensi* is allowable. Thus you see how I beginne to wander before I dare affirme anything. If my hand were free from payne I would not commyt thus much to any other man's hand,* and yet you may impart my words to her Majestie without offence.

I pray you require Mr. Wolley to send me my Lord Scrope's letters, and know of him what answer I may make to Sir Thos. Wilsone, who doth only attend here to knowe her Majestie's pleasure, being very unwilling to enter into the charge, except there were a governor in the towne,† to beare

* The greater part of this letter is written by his Secretary, Henry Maynard, as appears by the hand.

† Berwick.

the brunte of the charge, which the late Marshall did, and with which charge Sir Robert Constable was beggard. For the sute of Mr. Nowell, in my next I will get meanes to advertise you.

‡ I have sondry offers to ease me of my torment in my head, which the offerors conceive to come of the quicksilver, and therefore to give me the tyncture of gold. My nightly paynes are so grevous, as I am ready to receive any offer, and yet with feare for offending her Majestie, if I should thereby impayre my healthe, contrary to her careful advise, and yet I will not be hasty therein, but will presume that the advise of her Majestie may have some secret impulse from God, her head and my director, to serve her for hym. You see that my hand now serveth my hart, without excuse.

From my house in Westminster, the 21st of May, 1593.

Though I want feet to go to the Hall, yet I forbear not to be occupied there, with payne to ease others.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have received your letter of this 28th. Hereupon, though I am weak, and uncertayn how I shall be able to come to the Court, yet I am in mynd to come to-morrow to the Court, with opinion that after one or two dayes her Majesty will licence me to return, to seke my amendment, or to take my journey to follow *universam viam carnis*; and to this latter journey I am most disposed, with persuasion that if sowles have sense of earthly thynges, I shall be in God's sight an intercessor for the prosperitie of his Church here, and for her Majestie, as his governor therof to his glory. You must allow me to be in this humor, for I fynd no other taste of any other thyng.

‡ Here begins Lord Burghley's own hand-writing.

If I shall be able by coache or litter (for I provyde both)
I will be with you to-morrow.

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

Untill this dynner tyme I have had nother kyn nor inward
friend to see me or salute me, but multitude of sutors that
only come for their own causes.

(May 28, 1593.)

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I dare not write to you of my wowing mentioned heretofore, untill I heare how her Majesty alloweth of my absence to follow it. But in the meantyme you may assure her Majesty that I fynd no great hope of speedy success. I fynd the lady* somewhat strange to give eare to my request, for that she useth not to give audience in cloudy and fowle weather, and therof is here too great plenty, but yet betwixt showres I do attend and follow her trayne.

Thus much metaphorically, I trust without offence to her Majesty. Now literally: I do send you the letters from Mr. Bowes, which I have read, and the decree of the Convention, as you may see by my notes; whereunto if her Majesty will have me make answer, I will do so.

I send you also herewith a letter from Mr. Warburton, whom her Majesty allowed by her warrant to exercise the office of Vice-chamberlayn in Chester. By it you shall see how necessary it is for execution of justice to all that have sutes from any superior courts in that Countie Palatyne, that there be a chamberlayn; and therefore, as her Majesty shall allow the now Erle to occupy that office, so may her Majesty do well to passe it to him of her mere gratuitie, with-

* It is scarcely necessary to say that the lady Lord Burghley wooed was Health.

out any appearance of this necessity. If her Majesty assent therto, you may do well to procure a bill from Mr. Attorney.

I looke before I slepe to heare from you, how far her Majesty do allow of my simple opinion for the Irland causes.
7 December, 1593, at Theb.

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have received your letter written this daye, late at night, and because with it and other writings which you sent me, there are many points to be answered, for ease of my hand I do use my Secretarie, and do answer the parts of your letter as they lye in order.

* * * *

The second poynt of your letter concerneth my former allegoricall letter written to you, in which I perceive her Majestie discovered the literall sense thereof before the mydst of it seene. I must confesse that my cunning therein was not sufficient to hide the sense from her Majestie, although I thinke never a ladye besides her, nor a decipherer in the courte, would have dissolved the figure to have found the sense as her Majestie hath done. And where her Majestie alloweth of me, that I made myself merry, in very truthe I did it rather to make her some sport, (myself therein not altered, no otherwise then her Majestie's lute is in her own hand, that maketh others merry, and continueth itself as it was.)

For the matters of Ireland, I perceive her Majestie yesternight meant to heare them this day, and for your question what sum of money might be reasonably required, I think five or six thousand pounds very nedefull, so as Sir Henry Wallopp be moved to procure payment of the overplus of

the Quene's ordinary revenue due there, above all ordinarie fees for offices of the realme payd.

Now, to the greatest matter of all these, concerning the letters from Sir John Norreis, written the last of October, which I returne unto you, dated at Pontrieux, and so do I also now send you another of his, dated the next daye following, at Pempole, which came to me with yours. And for the matters contayned in his former letter, and the disposition in her Majestie for the safetie of her troupes, upon her opinion of the breach of the truce, I am in doubt what advise to give unto her Majestie, by reason of the diversitie of the dyrections which have bene sent to Sir John Norreis; the last wherof, as you may remember, was, wherewith her Majestie was acquainted, that considering her Majestie was advertised both from the King and from the States of Brittain, that certaine deputies should come from the States to treat with her Majestie for the continuance of her forces, and satisfaction for her charges, both paste and to come, and that Sir John Norreis desired privately to come over, he was lycensed by her Majestie to informe himselfe well of the legation of the deputies, and so to come over to give her Majestie better information, and to leave the troupes in surety. And this was the last dyrection made unto him to my knowledge. Which might be allowed to continue, if there were not newe matter advertised by Sir John Norreis, by this his last letter, wherein he declareth his opinion, that notwithstanding the truce accepted by the Duke Mereur, yet by letters from the Mareschall unto him, he is advised to stand upon his gard, arguing thereby a doubt whether the truce would be performed or not.

* * * * *

By his latter letter, which her Majestie hath not yet seene, I see the intention of the sending of the deputies hither from the States is, as I at the first did conjecture, to borrow money of her Majestie, which in a paraphrasis is, to carry away money, and to leave writings under seales, whereof her Ma-

jestie hath a greate plenty, so as the coming of these deputies may be better looked for than welcome.

* * * * *

I perceiue her Majestie looketh for me by the end of the next weke. Wheruppon you may say merely to her Majestie, that I am so disposed, if God permitt me, whether I spede in my wowing or no. For if I do spede, then I may not fayle, but if I spede not by all that weke's pursute, I will trouble myself no more with following her in the countrey, but will lyve in hope to fynd her at the court, where I know she will come to serve her Majestie all these Christmas hollydayes.

God gyve you grace. From my house at Theobald's, the 7th of December, 1593.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

/ If her Majestie mislyke my opinion for the care of her Majestie, I am no opiniaster, but an opynor. /

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

* * * * *

Even now I received your letter, wherein you report her Majestie's care for my helth, for the which I most humbly thank her, hoping that her good wishings shall help to return me to strength for her service, which I esteeme the service of God, whose place she holdeth in earth. That was spoken of my answer, that before dynner I was no man, and after dynner half a man, was thus far misreported. For I sayd before dynner I was but one quarter of a man, and after dinner half a man, now for some increase to better, by drynking of a draught of red wyne and sugar, and synce your good going to me, I make accompt to be three-quarters of a man whole, and one quarter syck. Thus I am pleased in

a fancy to express my estate, wherewith you may acquaynt her Majestie, when she hath no other matter to hearken to.

I thank her Majestie for her offer to me of my Lord Admirall's lodging, but I never had audacitie to require other lodging than was allotted me, and yet I presume my Lord Admirall will without offence yield therto.

God send her Majestie a well-disposed carnyvall, or a care-vale, to be rid of all cares !

(Feb. 10th, 1593.)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

I hartlie thanke your Lordship for imparting unto me the good newes sent from Sir Robert Sydneie,* her Majestie's ambassador in Fraunce, of the Kinge his peaceable entrie into Parris, and quiet settling there, thoughte his coming thither were with some souldiours, after a warlike manner. God make him thankfull for those mercies which the Lord pleaseth to shewe unto him, and then (I hope) we shall heare of his hartie repentaunce for his late fowle fall,† which God graunte him in due time ! if it be his good will.

I did receave these letters from your Lordship in my journie hither from the funerall of the Lord Evre, whither myselfe, and such of this counsell as was here, were invyted. Before my coming to this towne, I was advertised of the Lord Bothwell‡ his being here, but whatsoever was his pur-

* Sir Robert Sydney was the brother of Sir Philip Sydney, and was equally distinguished by his bravery and conduct in the wars of the Low Countries. By James the First he was created Earl of Leicester. He died in 1626.

† Henry IV. of France, in the preceding year, had deserted the Reformed religion, of which he had been so long the champion, and embraced the creed of Rome.

‡ The Earl of Bothwell, who raised a party for the Spaniards and Catholics, broke out into open rebellion this year, and caused much

pose, he sodenlie departed, and is gone to the borders againe
There was in his companie only one Scottishman, the Lord
of Netherbie, who married the Earle his sister, George
Selbie, sonne unto one William Selbie, marchaunt of New-
castle, and one Richard Southwike, whose father dwelleth
in Cumberland.

Thus taking my leave, I do commit your Lordship to the
protection of th'Almightie. At Yorke, the 25th of March,
1594.

Your Lordship's loving frend assured,

H. HUNTYNGDON.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By your letter, and by the message of Mr. Loveless, I per-
ceive her Majestie wold have me come to the court to-morrow,
being Satyrday, but the tide serveth me at night, for I am
not in good helth on the forenoons, and therefore I will pre-
vent the commandment, making it *meritum*, and with God's
leave I will come thither at this evening tyde. You may
tell Symmons so, but not provyde me anything but a new
layd egg, for I have vowed to fast this day, without super-
stition.

I send such two letters as I received from Sir Robert
Sydney, the latter of the 16th, by which I see that as then
he had not received the letters sent from hence. I send you
also Atwell Smyth's, assuring the rendition of Roan, which
must needs bryng on St. Mallos.

March 29th, 1594.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHEY.

confusion in Scotland. His strong hold was the borders of the two
kingdoms. The Queen issued a proclamation against harbouring him
or his adherents.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I marvell that I heare not from you concerning the letters to be sent into Ireland, whyther also I have in readiness some from myself.

Now will you thynk also long to heare of my forspoken pilgrimage to the bath, but I am yet in deliberation non-injudicially, my continuance in payne without remission moveth me to harken to all meanes of remedy or ease. I have bene occupied both with lytigious causes in the checquer and the wards all this daye, and have found meanes to ease the first griefes of complaynants. I have had also now this evening by report, the sondry opinions of physicians concerning the baths, but therin mo reasons of dissuasions than of provocations, and that which is worst from none any direct advise for my cure, only exercise of body and idleness of mynd is prescribed. For these two I have none to further me but her Majestie. If I might have a receipt therof from her Majestie's cabynett, I wold make proof, to be able to be her Majestie's porter at Theobald's, upon her second journey.

Thus much you may blab to her Majestie, if she ask of me. I wryte almost in the dark. April 25th, 1594.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As I was coming in my coache from Greenwich, certain letters were brought to me, directed from Mr. Bowes, the reading wherof occupied me untill I came to Lambhith Fields, neare Paris Garden, which I folded up into a piece of paper, lacking wax sufficient, which I thynk also will occupy you in reading as they did me, but how her Majestie

will judg therof, and how she will procede, I know not. Certainly I see that without some money the Kyng will continue his delays. I am not able to warrant any counsell, and yet somewhat must be adventured either with money or without money.

I send you a bill to be signed for reduction of the eleven hundred men from Flushyng, for that I see there is no sufficient warrant, as there is for them that shall come from Pempole.

If the Scottish causes shall not hynder me, I mynd only to see Thebald's on Wednesday at night, and return on Thursday at night, to the court, or to London.

May 5th, 1594.

Your loving father,
W. BURGHEY.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I do send here included letters sent to Mr. Edmunds, of the 21st of August, containing sondry things, wherof I think her Majestie will have much mislyking, as the dowtfulness of the Duke of Monpensier's journey to Britain with new forces, wherof the Kyng by his letters made so firm a promise, as in truth I made accompt that we should have heard out of Britaine of his arryvall there. Herewith, I think her Majestie should do well to cause the French ambassador to be charged, for, as I think, he did inform her Majestie, uppon letters from the King, of the Duke Monpensier's purpose.*

The other matter to be mislyked is the message under

* After the French King had embraced the Catholic religion, the famous League which had so long deluged France with blood, was dissolved. But the Spaniards who had been called into Brittany by the French Catholics, refused to give up the places which were in their hands, and still carried on the war, being opposed by Norris and the English forces.

hand from the King of Spayn, to have one sent to Bayon to conferr of a peace. Whereto, though the King pretendeth a mislyke, yet sarelly the Catholique counsellors, with the disposition also of the people, will work some further operation therin, and so both England and all the protestants in France shall fele the smart therof. But I am bold to hope of the favor of the Kyng of kyngs, that can abridg the Kyng of Spayne's life, and show some notable avendg upon the French Kyng for his perfydie towards God and man. My hand is so weak, as I am unable to wryte any more. 4 September, 1594.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR HENRY MAYNARD TO MICHAEL HICKS.

Mr. Michaell, I thinke this my letter will finde you at London, and therefore I will not trouble you with your Essex progresse, untill our meeting. By my wife's letter I perceive that my lanterne and porche began not to be raised untill Mondaie last, and so have I hearde out of the country, whereby if I should go thither, as I intended, I should hardly see the one or the other up, and therefore I mean to differ my journey as neare towards Michaelmas as I can, and so you may returne when you are filled with your pleasure.

The busines that I have had, and that we have been most busied withall, hath been in the dispatch of Sir Thomas Wilkes to the Archduke Ernestus,* to expostulate with him

* The Spaniards this year made a new attempt to take off the Queen, who was to have been poisoned by her physician, Roderigo Lopez. Nearly all the persons concerned in the plot were Spaniards or Portuguese. The Queen, says Camden, "remaining undaunted, with a manly spirit and provident caution, reposing her trust in God, condemned these treacheries, and often called to mind that of the kingly Psalmist, *Thou art my God, my times are in thy hands*. Yet did she

the wicked practises of the Spanishe Kinges's ministers, and her Majestie's rebelles, in going about to take her Majestie's life, by poysonings and murderings. This hath much busied us : and letters are sent to Sir Edward Norris for the procuring of a passport. This is a counsell matter, and therefore to be secrett. Another matter presently troubles us, and that is to have Sir William Fitzwilliams charged with Legge's informations, which hath cawsed my Lord to ransack all his bagges of his time, as you shall perceive at your returne, and we do expecte what will become of the Earle of Tirone,* having received no letters out of Ireland since your departure. We are all here in healthe, and my Lord as busie as may be in this matter. The monarque hath left his throne, and now humbleth himself to dine in the cole-house every daye with his followers. Mr. Brocas hath with much ado yielded the howse for Mrs. Carre, and I have sent my stuffe to my howse at Clapham. If I had further matter you should be partaker therof. In great hast, from the Court, the 14th of Sept. 1594.

Your's alwaies,

H. MAYNARD.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I see by your letter how desirous her Majestie is to have me there : now I have a mynd to come thyther to-morrow, but you shall not be known therof untill I shall come. Cause

advertise Ernest, Archduke of Austria, governor of the Belgick provinces for the Spaniard, of these treacheries plotted by Ibara and other Spanish ministers, and English fugitives, to the end he might wipe away from himself the aspersion of this crime, by punishing his officers and ministers, and delivering into her hands the English architects of so great impiety."

† The Earl of Tyrone, who had been engaged in extensive rebellion, had submitted himself to the new deputy, Sir William Russell.

my chamber to be made ready. Herin I shall venture percase my life, but I remit all to God. *Fiat voluntas sua !*
13th October, 1594.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Though I did require you to inform her Majestie of my great weakness, increased upon me since I came from court, so as I found myself unable to perform my resolute intention to return as this daye, with a mynd, if her Majestie shold remove shortly to Richmond, to aventure to come thyther, yet because Mr. Chancellor, now at 11 of the clock, telleth me that her Majestie sayd she looked for me this night, which he says he thought I was unable to do, I have thought good, in this my perplexity, being chiefly carryed afore all other purposes to satisfyce her Majestie's mynd, to require you to understand what her Majestie shall herin direct for me to do, and I will obey the same notwithstanding any difficultie, but privation of life; which also, if the same may proffit her service, I can readily yield unto, and therby enter into the eternall service of Almighty God, I hope in heaven.

I pray you procure and send me speddy answer, for until that I shall remayn *fluctuans*, preplexed.

I am sorry to perceive by Mr. Chancellor, that her Majestie is not more inclynable to relieve the Erle with some graunt of parkes, in such sort as may be no diminution to her Majestie's revenue, and yet relieve him, in a sort very reasonable. I move not these things for the Erle, *pro merito*, but *pro condigno* for her Majestie.

This Satyrday, 18 or 19 (the 19th Oct. 1594.)

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR RICHARD BINGHAM TO THE COUNCIL.

It may please your Honours, taking occasion to send the bearer, my servaunt, into England, I thought it my dutie to advertise the same briefly of the state of things here, being desirous to shoue some part of my serviceable good will and thankfullnesse towards your Honours for all your honorable favors, which otherwaies I cannot do, having not the means to deserve the same. The greate ones of Ulster have of late more openlie shewed themselves in nature of rebellion, then at the first, when Magwier only raised heade, and howsoever, some may suggest matter in favour of the greatest, I see not how her Majestie can well take it upp without correcting the offenders, for they have by degrees commytted much violence, and how the harmes of the subjectes will be recompensed on good assurance had for preservation of her Majestie's peace, where the traitorous subjects shall require conditions, I leave to their judgments which best knoweth the proceedings of Ireland, myself being the least able to say anything of Ulster, for that I am a straunger to the partes of that province, saving Fermanagh and Teirconnell, which are held by O'Donnell and Magwier, both two neere borderers unto Connaght. But if her Majestie be pleased and your Honours, to have the Lord Deputy do any thing against the bad Ulster men, I wish it might please the same to give his Lordship all due assistance and contynauce, that he may with less strength and tyme go through with it, or so much as shall be thought requisite to undertake. And for Feagh M'Huge, the mountayne neighbour here,* I do not doubt but a small strengthe shall overthrowe him, for indeed he is a very baggadge knave, and upheld against all reason, lying as he dothe amongst the best

* Feagh Mac-Hugh, who was in rebellion in Leinster, and narrowly escaped being taken by the Deputy. His wife, a notorious character amongst the rebels, was taken and condemned to be burnt, but her life was spared by the Queen.

subjects of the realme, and contynued so neere the state, to the great detriment of her Majestie's good subjects.

The province of Connaght (God be praised for it) is generally quiett, and good assurance for the contynnuance therof: only the subjects of the county of Sligo, which lye open to the incursions of O'Donnell's people, are now and then by stealthe oppressed, and being once taken over the Earne into Teirconnell, there is no hope to pursue the same. But if Beeleck were reeddified and Ballyshannon taken into her Majestie's possession, Connaght were wholly assured from the partes of Ulster, and the passage stopped either from Scotts or other Irish rebelles, which have bene wont to annoy us. And so humbly remembring my dutie unto your Honors, as one always ready at your Honor's command, and wishing my abilitie were able to do your Honour better service, I take my humble leave. From Dublin, the fourth of November, 1594.

Your Lordships' most humblie at commandment,

R. BINGHAM.

LORD BURGHELEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I thank you for sending to me the copy of her Majestie's letters to the French Kyng, assuring myself that there could no such marye come out of any knuckles but of hers that in all graces by nature, by calling, by long experience, is of such perfection as none can attayn unto. In this letter, though I knolledg my weaknes to judg therof, yet I see every sentence full of matter of great vallue, in a princely kyndness to a Kyng very acceptable, in congratulating his escape very comfortable, in advising him how to preserve his person more carefull than she is for herself, otherwise than she leaveth all to the care of God, in advise further to remove the nursery of his common enemies, without relenting to contrary counsellis, so wisely and religiously, as of all these thyngs I am sure no

secretary nor orator could so lyvely express her princely mynd.

For her hope to have me dance, I must have a longer tyme to leran to go, but I will be ready in mynd to dance with my hart, when I shall behold her favorable disposition to do such honor to her mayd, for the old man's sake.*

I wish her Majesty would send some treasure into Irland, and that her Treasurer might see to the orderly expence therof better than his clerks have done these six yeres.

(Dec. 2, 1594,)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

The argument of my letter hath tempted my hand to wryte thus much.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I send herewith unto you two packets of letters brought out of Ireland: the greater is of the elder date, and the lesser of a later. I minde not to write unto you the particulars therof, for that they be verie many, and therefore to be more diligently perused. My healthe serveth me not to enter into any finall consideration therof, but onlie two thinges are necessary: increase of the forces, which I am sorie to see so longe delayed from coming out of Bretaine, although I knowe not whom to blame: the second is to send monie thither for maintenance of the garrisons already in that realme, considering it doth appeare by the certificate of the Treasurer's deputie, that of the treasure sent over last there is nothyng remayning, as by the accompt of the Treasurer's deputie may appeare. But therein no mention is made

* Alluding to the preparations for the marriage of Lord Burghley's granddaughter, Elizabeth Vere, eldest daughter of Anne Countess of Oxford, with William Earl of Derby.

of a great sum of money that remained in the hands of the Treasurer's deputation this last year, for the which the Treasurer had good assurance for repayment.

From my house in the Strand, this 27th of December, 1594.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHEY.

I leave no hope to amend towards the world.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Though my hand is unable to fight, and my right eye unable to take a level, yet they both do stoop to return my humble thanks for continuance of her favor at this time, when I am more fitter for an hospital, than to be a party for a marriage.

I will be a precise keeper of myself from all cold until Friday, on which day I will venture to come thither.

If you shall hear that this night I have played at post and pare, you will guess that I shall recover, for I have lost all I played for.

(2 Jan. 1594.)

Your loving father,

W. BURGHEY.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I send to you herewith Mr. Bodeley's letter, being the first received since he departed. By it only appeareth his entrance into the matter of his charge. By his next will appear, upon the States' answer, what may be expected, so as until then I see no cause of his further instruction.*

* There arose some difference between the Queen and the States at this time about the payment of their debts, the Queen representing to

As for Colonell Stuard's negociation, I weigh it not much. If he can get for the Kyng* a piece of mony, I thynk it will gage hym that waye from harkening to papisticall confederacy, or from other harmfull league with France, from whence he may have shews of friendship without substance.

I am glad that her Majestie is satisfyed with my answer for Mills's imprisonment.

You forgett the matter for the Quene's assurance of certain rents from the two Bishops† of Wynchester and Durham, and therewith the attorney's request to be furder assisted with another sergeant and sollicitor.

How her Majestie will have the Lord Deputie of Irland answered, uppon your report of our conference, which because you write that you have reported with her Majestie's allowance, I have privately, having opportunity to send to hym, by my private letter advertised him a good part of our opinions, without prescribing to him any direction untill her Majestie shall direct the same; and to informe you how I have remembered the same, I send you a copy of my private letter, which may be affirmed or controlled by a more general letter from the counsell.

(17 Feb. 1594)

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I thank you for your letter, which I cannot answer with myne own hand in any sort. I allow your discretion in concealing from the Quene my last night's paines, and though I

them the great burden which they had long been and now in particular were to her. It was arranged by a compromise, the States agreeing to contribute in greater proportion than they had done.

* Of Scotland.

† Thomas Cooper and Richard Barnes, the former of whom had been newly elected to his see.

had yesterday a painefull journey with my hand, and have had this night a continuance thereof with some new paine in my foote, whereby I am forced to kepe my bed this forenoone, yet you shall do well not to be knowne herof to any. If I had come well hither, and the wether fayre, I might have tarryed here but two daies, but now I know not how long I shall be forced to tarry here by this ill-accident, which seeing it was to fall out at this time, I am glad I am here without company to trouble me. And so God blesse you with his grace.

From my howse at Theballd's, the 29th of April, 1595.

I send you a letter of Mr. Carye's, with a ticket of a progresse intended by the Kyng of Scotts, to come to the sight of Barwick, for which purpose he is desirous to know how he shall behave himself at that time; whereof I pray you make my Lord Chamberlayn privy, to the intent he may understand the Quene's mind, and as for the workes to be done there, I will give order by the next letter to have the same performed.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I am willinger than able to come on Monday, and yet Mr. Chancellor and I have appointed a speciall meeting here that afternoone with the office of the Custom House, and so must my Lord Keper and I with other judges mete to-morrow about difficult busynes, so as I am not idle in my afternoone, though far unable to beare such burdens. I cannot saye that I will come on Monday, but I must saye I must be carryed there very paynfully, and unmete to be sene to her Majesty's presence.

I have bene thoroughly occupied this day.

(May 20, 1595.)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I cannot yet get out of my bedd. What I shall be able to do to-morrow I know not. For the manner of returning of Mr. Bodeley with her Majesty's answer of misliking both of the States' answer and of his coming back uppon their advise, I cannot but very well allow therof, and I think he ought to try them with so many reasons as the tyme serveth for her Majesty, after ten yeres' charge, without either mony or any donative of gratitude from them by waye of presentment of their thankfulness, adding that her Majesty is now also provoked in Ireland to enter into a charge not estimable, whereto she hath no hope of any help, but of hyndrance by Spayne and otherwise.

If they shall be content to paye her Majesty's people, and grant a good yerely sum towards the discharge of their debt, her Majesty remayning their protector, and they continuing their defence agaynst the Kyng of Spayne, I could be content to see her Majesty so eased of this growing charge. *

Thus I so scribe, not without payne.

(May, 1595.)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

You may by the beginning of this included letter judg of Sir John Norrice' forwardness, which you may shew to her Majesty, with an intention how it is meant to take the Erle's*

* Of Tyrone. Ireland was this year, partly by the intrigues of the Spaniards, brought to a very troubled and uncertain state. Sir John Norris was sent over to take the chief military command, and to act in conjunction with the deputy. The Earl of Tyrone was again in rebellion, and Norris marched against him, and victualled Armagh, but no very great success attended on him, though in the latter part of the year Tyrone submitted to him. Much injury was done to the service by jealousies which arose between Sir John Norris and the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell.

chiefhowse, which they cannot do without passing the Blackwater, howsoever a contrary opinion assure her Majesty.

You may also see the reasons iterated, for accepting of Few McHugh, but his offers have not bene secrett, neither will his son nor his other companion be easily taken and delivered.

I have sent for Sir H. Hilligrew and the rest to be with me to-morrow at 7 of clock, where I wish Sir Tho. Wilkes might be present, and so tell hym.

I think to speake with Sir Fr. Drake this night for Plymouth.

And so I thank you your too much care of me in sending to know how I do, which, I thank God, is well, but tyred with London stones.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

I miss two of my brood, a male and a female, but I think they are forthcoming, ready to return when they shall be called for.

(June, 1595.)

SIR F. DRAKE AND SIR J. HAWKINS TO LORD BURGHLEY.*

Our duty in most humble manner remembred, it may please your Lordship, we have answerd her Majesty's letter we hope to her Highnes' contentment, whom we would not willingly displease.

We humbly thanke your Lordship for your manyfold favours which we have allwayes found never varyable, but with all favour, love, and constancy, for which we can never be

* The English carried on during the present year a very destructive war with the Spaniards in their colonies. Drake and Hawkins were sent with a fleet to Porto Rico, on the report of a great mass of treasure brought thither. But they were not so successful as was expected, and before their return both these brave sailors died at sea.

sufficiently thankful, but with our prayers to God long to blesse your good Lordship with honour and health.

We thinke it be true, that some small men of warre be taken upon the coast of Spayne, but they are of very small moment; they be for the most part such small carvels as was before this taken from the Spanyards. Some small number of our men are yet in Spayne, which is the only losse, but as we learne, there be not above one hundreth left in Spayne of them, but many returned already into England. And so loking dayly for a good wynd, we humbly take our leave.

From Plymouthe, the 18th of August, 1595.

Your Lordship's ever most bounden,

FRA. DRAKE.

JOHN HAWKYNES.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

At your departure yesterdaie, I had no leisure to deliver sundry things unto you, which now with these my letters in a heape I send unto you.

First, you shall receive Mr. Bodeleie's letter, dated the 27th of the last monthe, the contentes wherof you may at convenient tyme, or the letter itself, shewe to her Majestie, wherein I see he moveth some scruples and doubts how her Majestie may be satisfied.

I send to you also a copy of a letter written out of Russia, by John Morish, agent for the Englishe companie there, whereby he doth advertise a matter of some weight delivered to him by Boros Frederick, principall counsellor to the Emperour of Moscovia, by which it appeareth how ready the Pope's legate hath bene to slander her Majestie after the accustomed manner of his master, the father of Pius.* And

* Elizabeth first threw aside the old prejudices which had separated nations of different creeds from friendly intercourse with each other, and thus opened the extensive field of commerce which has raised and enriched her country. She made a commercial alliance with the

considering the discrete discoverie therof by the Moscovite, and his not crediting of the untruth, it were well done that this agent had her Majestie's letters both to the Emperor and to Boros Frederick, declaring to them the untruth of this report, and her Majestie's disposition to have peace. For the Emperor of Almaigne, her Majesty dare in form referre herself to the Emperor of Almaine, to whom her Majesty did send her ambassador expressly a year past, offering all the meanes in her power to reduce the Turke to peace. And of this matter none can better make declaration than D. Parkyns, who in mine opinion were very fitt to conveye these two letters to the Emperor of Russia and to Boros Frederick.

I do also send unto you a letter of Archibald Dowglas, who also came himself after his letters written in person. By his letter and speeche, I find by him a disposition to do some good service for quietness in Scotland, and particularly for the Quene's Majestie's satisfaction. His negotiation consisteth upon two partes : the one for the Erle of Angus, the other for the Erle of Bothwell. The ground of his dealing proceedeth of a letter from his nephew Richard Dowglas, which he did shewe me, and whereof I send you a copie. The purpose is to have the Erle reconciled to the Kinge, and to leave off his confederacy with Huntley, Arroll, and others ; and if her Majesty would intercede for him to the Kinge, he would discover unto her Majesty sundry things prejudiciall to her state. But it semeth except he may have the Kinge's favor wrought by her Majesty, he will not discover his knowledge. The second matter, concerning Bothwell, is an offer that one James Dowglas, called the Lord of Spott, an offender with Bothwell, offreth to come into England, and so to passe into France where the Erle Bothwell is, and not only

Turks. But in this measure, the malice of her enemies found a favourable opportunity for slander, and the Catholics eagerly spread abroad the report that she was exerting herself to arm the infidels to destroy the Catholics throughout Europe.

to dissuade Bothwell from conspiring with the Spaniard, but to discover all his knowledge of any attempt against the Quene's Majestie. And this he offreth to performe, so as his charges be provided for, for his coming and returning. Of these two matters I would you would informe her Majestie, and receive her pleasure. *

I send also unto you a request of the merchants adventurers to be recommended to Mr. Bodeleie and Gilpin, or to one of them, which request consisteth upon two partes, both very necessary for to be reformed by the States, as by the reading therof you will perceive. And therefore, I pray you move it to my Lordes there, that their letters might be written to Mr. Bodeleie and Mr. Gilpin, according to the request of the merchantes.

* * * * *

If I shall not recover my helthe at this time, wherin the sun is departing, I shall dispayre to continue the next wynter alyve, or out of misery, for within 40 hours I shall make my period of 84 yeres, and whatsoever shall be more, shall be, by the judgment of King David, labour and [toyle. 13th Sept. 1595.*

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR H. MAYNARD† TO MICHAEL HICKS.

Mr. Michael, I am sure you have heard by some generall report of an encounter that passed the fifth of this month

* In a letter written the day after this, Lord Burghley says, in a postscript, "I mistoke yesterdaye to have been the 13, so as this to have been but 13, and to-morrow 14, my birth-daye, the sun entering into libra. God send you to live so many, within which tyme many accidents shall happen unknown to all astrologers."

† Sir H. Maynard, of Estains in Essex, the father of the first Lord Maynard. He was one of Lord Burghley's secretaries, (Michael Hicke being the other,) and seems to have been a close attendant on

between Sir John Norris and the Erle of Tirone, and for that the same may be uncertainly or untruely reported, you shall understand that Sir John Norris, having revictualled a place called Armagh, he was, in his returne to the Newry, hotly charged by the Erle, whom Sir John did most valiantly encounter, being mounted on an Englishe gelding, in his doblet and hose. With him was the prime of all his forces, and in his own troope, his brother Sir Thomas Norris, the Marshall, Henry Denny (for him do I name, being exceedingly recommended for his valour that day), Captaine Richard Wingfeild, and many others. But the disadvantage of the place, and the placing of some shott by the Erle so annoyed them, with the Erle's horse, that Sir John Norris received two hurtes, the one overthwart his bellye, the other in his right arme; his brother Sir Thomas shott through the left thighe; Richard Wingfeild shott in his left elboe, to the losse of his arme or life; Henry Denny not hurte. So the service ended, the Erle making a retreat, with the losse, as we saye, of 60 persons, and we of 12 slaine, and 30 hurte. I forgott to tell you that Sir John Norris' horse received four shott, and sanke under him, that he was constrained to withdrawe himself owt of his troope, and to newe mount himself. We do still say the Erle offreth to come to good condition for his pardon. I praie God it prove true, and her Majestie would be pleased to accept thereof.

All yesterdaie was spent in the writing of an Irishe dispatche, which kept me from bowles, but I assure you such hath been otherwise our idleness here, that my Lord* seeing I had nothing to do, gave me leave of himself, and lent me horses to go into Essex, where I was the two fowle daies of Sunday and Monday, and returned on Tuesday. My

his master during his latter years. The letters of Lord Burghley to his son, Sir Robert, from 1593 to his death, when not written by himself, are almost all in the hand-writing of Sir Henry Maynard. Sir Henry died in 1616.

• Burghley.

companie was Tom Griffin, Mr. Smithe, Mr. Cave, and Mr. Tippinge, but I leave the report of all to Tom Griffin, when you returne. On Friday next I hold my purpose againe to go thither, to discharge necessary occasions, and I shall expect your coming two dayes at the least before that time, and for ought I see, you are like to find my Lord here, having no great disposition to returne to Nonsuch, except the letters which come now out of Ireland, which Sir Robert Cecil carried yesterdaye to the court, carry him hither. And so praying you to remember me to good Mrs. Hickes, Mr. Alderman Lowe, and Mrs. Lowe, Mr. Colson and Mrs. Colson, and the rest of your good company, I will end, my Lord being ready to come owt of his bed-chamber. This 20th of September, 1595.

Your assured loving friend and fellowe,

H. MAYNARD.

SIR JOHN NORRIS TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Right honorable my very good Lord, before such time as I could have the meanes to recover this place, my Lord Deputie hath taken order for the calling together of the general hosting, and not long after I was arrived here, his Lordship appointed me to repaire to Dundalk, there to assemble the sayd forces together, wherin was used that suddenness, that it gave no leasure to make any manner of provision answerable to so important a journey.

Within a small time after his Lordship had met us there, we dislodged the army towards the Nurye, and so to Armagh, which th'enemy had burnt the morning before our coming, only the church therof remained still, being by nature seated somewhat strongly; wherupon it being advised to put the same in defence, we spent some three or four daies thereabouts, and after leaving therein a sufficient garrison, we were forced to returne backe again to the Nurye for a supply of victualls, as well for the provision of our army, as to victuall

the said place of Armagh ; wherein, for want of carriage, we were faine to employ those belonging unto the riseing out, (?) to bring along the said provision.

Afterwards, having victualled Armagh, our next purpose was to do as much for Manhoan,* which in two daies libertie we effected. Upon our returne homewards, being encamped within some three miles of the Nurye, the enemy presuming still of his late good fortune, passed his army along within view of our skouts, meaning to have crossed over betwixt us and Dundalk, and to have lyen uppon an advantageous part, where it was said he would have fought with us ; but having thus discovered him, we gott to horse with what expedition we might, and followed the whole of his horsemen some three or four miles, having them continually in sight, and in th'end unhorsed some of the hindermost of them, and seized uppon three or foure of them, amongst which one was known to be a man of great reputation. Their footemen being utterly left by their horsemen put themselves into route, every man to shift for one, throwing awaie their mantles, and leaving some part of their baggage and furniture to the disposition of those that would looke after them. In all this time our foote could not possibly get upp, but had we apprehended the sight of th' enemy but one hour sooner, I would not have doubted, by God's assistance, to have sent your Lordship the newes of some better success then that which fortun'd. This little, notwithstanding, so frighted them, as that they were contented to afford us a peaceable marche, keeping themselves close within their woods and strengthes.

Our want of carriage and victualls hath now caused us to disperse our troopes, and retire ourselves into garrison, my Lord Deputie taking consultation for another journey into those partes out of hand. But if we be not seconded out of England, by better meanes then can be looked for here, I

* Monaghan.

cannot see how we may hope for much better event then in this last.

Your Lordship in th'advertisement unto my Lords of the Counsaill, shall at large understand the wants that are found in this business. If anie thing shall hereafter befall worthie your Lordship's knowledge, I will not fail to remember your Lordship therewith. In the meane time and alwaise, I will remain,

Your Lordship's most ready to do you all humble service,
J. NORREYS.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I do send you this included to be shewed to her Majestie, wherof I can make no comment, the text being so barren. I pray you remember the cause of Feagh M'Hue, who would either be stablished a good subject, or born withall, until her Majestie's forces may be spared to suppress hym.

The attempt of the Lea, in killing of them that brought Walter Reagh and his three brethren to their end, would be sharply reformed, for els the lyke service will not be performed. And yet I doubt of my Lord Deputie's intention to reform it, though the service with the O'Tooles that are slayn was done by his Lordship's procurement.

7th October, 1595.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHEY.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I send to you these included from Mr. Bodeley, to be shewed to her Majestie. Hereby is to be sene what harm the French Kyng's reconciliation with such dishonorable and

servile conditions is lyke to work in the world.* But I most feare the intent of the princes of the empyre, that are purposed to propound conditions of peace to a people wearyed of war, will work a revolt, specially the tyme being now taken, when the enemy doth prosper, and the States with their forces have decayd all this yeare.

The events hereof are only in God's disposition. 18th Oct. 1595.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

It is here sayd that Mr. Vice-Chamberlayn † is half dead. God bless his sowle !

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have read your letter, whereby I perceive you have read and shewed my letter of my hand writing to her Majestie, who sayth that she will have a battell with my fingers, and then afore hand, I know who shall have the victory by the battell, for I have no warrant for my fingers, but her Majestie is allowed to say as King David sayd in the 144th Psalme, as the same was repeated the 30th of last month, *Benedictus Dominus Deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prelium et digitos meos ad bellum*, and in his next verse, he addeth that which properly belongeth to her Majestie, *refugium meum, susceptor meus, et liberator meus, protector meus, et in ipso speravi, qui subdit populum meum sub me*. And if her Majestie's hands or fingers were to fight, I durst match her with Kyng Philip, and overmatch hym. Thus you see

* The behaviour of the Spaniards had compelled the French King to declare war against them, in which he was encouraged by the English, but at first sustaining some reverses, great persuasions were used by the Catholics to bring him to accept a peace.

† Sir Thomas Heneage, who died this year.

that I cannot spare my fingers, where my hart is fully contented to utter my opinion of her estate and value.

I am glad that her Majestie is disposed to send some mony into Ireland, wherof surely there is great want, a matter dangerous to be known to the rebells, whose yielding hath grown only by sight of her Majestie's forces. I send you a form for a warrant, wherin her Majestie may do well to allow some good round sum, or otherwise she must be shortly pressed for more, for the debt there is already great, and untill the rebells' submission be perfected, her forces may not be diminished.

I wish such as Nevill and Waynman were either in some other prison, or not at liberty in the towne, where now, with a sparke of fyre, they may secretly disarm the Quene of all her powder and armor, &c.

2nd Dec. 1595.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHEY.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I bethynk with myself of so many thyngs mete to be considered by her Majestie, and by her authoritie to her counsell for her affayres in respect of the news from Spayne,* as though I cannot, without conference with such counsellors as her Majestie shall please to name, do or furder such thyng to execution by myself, yet I am willing to come thither to be neare her Majestie, though I am not able to make access to her person; but of force, without more amendment in strength, must presume to kepe my chamber, not as a potentate, but as an impotent aged man, neither yet as a bankrupt, but as respondent to any action or demand; and if by your speeche with her Majestie, she will not mislyke to have so

* It was reported that a greater Armada than that of 1588 was now preparing for the invasion of England.

bold a person to lodg in her howse, I will come as I am, in body not half a man, but in mynd passable to the muster of the rest of my good Lords, her Majestie's counsellors and my good friends.

God give you his grace, to ask his grace faythfully to serve her Majestie, and to respect none but for her, and for her justice! 6 Dec. 1595.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

Upon your answer I will make no unnecessary delay, by God's permission.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I send you by this bearer, Peter Brown, Mr. Edmonds'* letter, which you may perceive by my titles in the margin I have read, wishing that her Majestie wold spedely send her ambassador to the Kyng to stay hym from violent courses, wherein I hope the constable may do much good to temper other furious actors.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

Of necessity Edmonds wold be relieved.

(Dec. 7th, 1595.)

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

This forenoone I sent to you, by the Lord Deputie's servant, the Irish letters containing no good things, and so I return to you Sir John Norrice's letters, wherby I see a manifest disjunction betwixt the Lord Deputie and hym. And in one part, I note that Sir John Norrice was too bold to

* Sir Thomas Edmonds, the Queen's ambassador in France.

command the companyes in the English pale for Waterford, without assent of the Deputie, for out of Monster he hath no sole authoritie. I feare contynually evill disasters.

Post meridiem, Jan. 2nd.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I do send you Sir H. Unton's* depeche, wherin I see a most dangerous course intended by the most ingratefull King that lyveth. I will not comment hereuppon, but I am sure her Majesty will depely consider of this indignity, and intend some course to mete herewith in tyme. I thynk our ambassador hath, by his present letter to her Majesty, enlarged his favourable opinion.

We had nede to crave and expect the favour and protection of Almighty God, wherof I dowt not for the goodness of our cause, though I cannot devise the meanes.

26th Januar. 1595.

Your loving father, bitten with cold,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I am begynning of a lesson that is to me three score and ten yeres old, that is to old my pen in order to write. But

* Sir Henry Unton, born at Wadley in Berkshire, was the son of Sir Edward Unton, his mother being Anne, eldest daughter of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and widow of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. He had before been for some time ambassador in France, and died there in the present year. It was he who in the beginning of 1593 challenged the Duke of Guise for injurious expressions against Queen Elizabeth.

being as yet unable, I only return you for answer the brief of the Irish army, as it was the last quarter.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I thank you for your letters, for which I looked untill now at eight I received them. I am sorry to see the uncertainty for resolution, considering the delays doth harm both wise, as well for loss in the continuance of the matter, if it should dissolve, as for hyndrance to the expedition,* by the staggering. I do hold, and will alwayes, this course in such matters as I differ in opinion from her Majesty; as long as I may be allowed to give advise, I will not change my opinion by affirming the contrary, for that were to offend God, to whom I am sworn first, but as a servant I will obey her Majestie's commandment; and no wise contrary the same, presuming that she being God's chief minister here, it shall be God's will to have her commandments obeyed, after that I have performed my duty as a counsellor, and shall in my hart wish her commandments to have such good successes, as I am sure she intendeth.

You see I am in a mixture of divinitie and polycy, preferring in polycy her Majesty afore all others on the earth, and in divynitie the King of heaven above all betwixt alpha and omega.

Thus my cogitations you may use to your own good, beseeching God to bless you. This Satyrday, March 23rd, 1595.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

* The expedition against Spain, under the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Raleigh.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I send you a letter written to me by Sir Geffry Fenton,* which you may as you see cause shew to her Majesty, and procure such answer as shall best please her; and if she shall still rest upon strict poynts, as I have noted she hath done in all these Irish actions, I wish the end may prove better than I see the same done, her charges and danger for her whole realm being now become unsupportable. And yet I cannot deny but her royall state moveth her to be so precise as she is, but *non sunt ponendi rumores ante salutem*.

I understand that my Lord Deputie hath given commandment by his Frenchman, that no letters shall be suffered to pass out of Irland to me, but by his Lordship's own warrant. What his Lordship meaneth hereby I know not, though I can probably gess, for herin you are also included. I wish my Lord had such skylle or good luck in his government as there needed no advertisement or advise but from hymself. I heare there cometh over with his Lordship's passport many soldiours out of Irland, more able than such as now are ready to go over; for so Proby writeth to me, how much it is misliked, to send from hence new men, when sufficient men come from thence. But I will not deale herin, for my Lord Deputie is privately advertised that all his faults are sought out by me. I wish they did not deserve to be sought out.

(March 30th, 1596.)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHEY.

SIR HENRY MAYNARD TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Sir, my Lord hath willed me to write to you, himself not being well able, without pain of removing to be sett up, that

* Sir Geoffrey Fenton was Surveyor General of Ireland.

he is much troubled in his minde with the alarme of Callis,* wherof my Lord Admirall wrote to him, and which advertisement he sent to you by his Lordship's servant. And therefore for the quiett of his minde he prayeth you, as soone as you shall understand any certaintie thereof, to lett him know the same. And in case it should fall owt to be true, his opinion is that my Lord of Essex and Lord Admirall cannot with more honor employ themselves and her Majestie's forces, than to the succouring thereof, and their whole paye to be answered by her Majestie. But this, his opinion, his Lordship would have you as yet to kepe to yourself.

And so I most humbly take my leave. From my Lord's howse in the Strand, the last of Marche, 1596.

Most humbly at your Honor's commandment,

H. MAYNARD.

Now towards evening my Lord's paine beginneth to hold him in his head and neck, as it did yesterday, but I hope with less grief.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

This alarm of Calliss hath kept me waking all night, and hath styrr'd up in me many cogitations: first, that it were necessary to be informed from the governor, what he wanteth of men or munition to defend the town, how he is able to

* The new governor of the Netherlands under the Spaniards, Albert, Archduke of Austria, giving out that he intended to raise the siege of La Fere in Picardy, marched suddenly to Calais. "As soon as the Queen heard by the fearful messengers of the French King that Calais was besieged, she commanded a power of men to be gathered that very day, being Sunday, while men were at divine service, to aid the French King, and, withall, provide for the safety of England. This army, hastily raised, she committed to Essex; but before they were shipped, she had certain advertisement that both the towne and castell were yielded up into the Spaniards' hands."—*Camden*.

receave succors, of what numbers the army are that doth besiege it, where the battery is planted, how the haven remaineth free for succor to come with shipping. If the haven be possessed by the enemy with his shipping, why may not ayd be sent by shipping to a place east from Calliss toward Gravelyng, or to Witsonby; and if the town may be defended for thirteen dayes, in that space La Fere will be yielded or taken, and then it may be hoped that the French Kyng will levy the siege, wherunto he hath five or six thousand foote-men, that may be had in this sort, two thousand from London, one thousand from Essex, two thousand from Kent, one thousand from Sussex, or such lyke, for England may not endure this town to be Spanish, and the Quene hath also promised him aide. I wish these men were put in order, that either some of them may spedily enter Calliss, if it hold out, and that powder and muskets were presently sent to Dover, but of these thyngs I am sure more will be there foresene. I confess I am troubled so herewith, as I see not well what I write.

(March 31st, 1596.)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I wryte with payne, and see many difficulties which I dare not take upon me to resolve. I send you my Lord of Essex' letter, who seemeth very dilligent in this cause. By Sir Co. Clyfford* we shall know more certainly. I marvell the Holland shypp will not attempt the boats of Gravelyng. The night tydes must serve for our men to pass to the town.

I have drawen a warrant for my Lord Cobham, and for mony to be delivered to Sir Th. Flod, which cannot be ex-

* Sir Coniers Clifford, who was employed in the expedition to Spain, and who was afterwards governor of Connaught, in 1599.

pressaly set down, but by estimation, considering the uncertainty of the shipping and victuall, wherof if there be sufficient in Callis, the care will be the less, so as every soldier carry with himself some bread and chese for a meale, or two meale.

I wish the captain had no allowance of dead payes. The numbers wold consist of pyke and shott. I cannot dare to write any more.

(April 4th, 1596.)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

You have filled my heart so full with your large reports of her Majesty's allowance of my insufficiencyes as sufficient, and of her superabundant care and desyre of my amendment, as I cannot containe in the flowing of my heart, without sending to you to be presented to her Majesty, some portion of the comfort of my hart by waye of most humble thankfulness to her Majesty, with a portion also of my sacrifice to Almighty God by my hartly prayers for the continuance of her happiness, wherin she exceedeth all her equalls in body and government.

My heart hath forced my weak hand thus far. Maii 26.

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord, I shall not neede to tell your Lordship that Cales is won, and the King of Spayne's great fleete at Cales defeated and destroyed. I shall lesse neede to relate the particular circumstance of either, for as fame itself

will bring the first, so this gentleman that carryes my letter will performe the second. This is to crave of your Lordship that I may be continued in your good Lordship's favor, and to pray you that you will pleade for me till I returne, that before I be heard, I be not upon report or misconceit brought into her Majestie's displeasure, for I doubt not but your Lordship and such honorable judges shall think I do acquitt myself like an honest man. I wish your Lordship all honor, helth, and happiness, and rest,

At your Lordship's commaundement,
This 1st of July, 1596.*

ESSEX.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.

My humble duty to your Lordship remembred, there was brought to my hand a certain ballad containing a complaint of the great want and scarcitie of corn within this realm, which, forasmuch as it containeth in it certaine vaine and presumptuous matter, bringing in her Highnes to speak with her people in dialogue in very fond and undecent sort, and prescribeth orders for the remedying of the dearth of corn, extracted (as it seemeth) out of the booke published by your Lordship the last year, but in that vaine and indiscreet manner as that thereby the poore may aggravate their grief, and take occasion of some discontentment, I thought good to call before me the printer and the partie by whom it was putt to print, who pretended a lycence; but finding the same to be untrue, I have comitted him to one of the counters, and have taken suerties of the printer himself for his appearance, if your Lordship shall think it fitt to have any further punishment inflicted upon him. The maker himself,

* Essex and the army was still at Cadiz, at the date of this letter. On the 5th, after plundering the town, they left it, to pursue their depredations in other quarters.

who is one Delonie,* (an idle fellowe, and one noted with the like before in printing a booke for the silk weavers, wherein was found some like foolish and disordered matter,) I cannot yet find. A copie of the ballad I have sent to your Lordship inclosed herewithall.

And so I humblie take my leave. From London, the 25th of Julie, 1596.

Your Lordship's most humble,
STEPHEN SLANY, Maior.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I most humbly thank her Majesty for imparting to me the reports of her victoryes,† hoping to have them hourly so verified by her own generalls, as her Majesty shall have just cause to have publick thanks gyven to the Almighty God that maketh her so mighty against her enemyes, and yet most humble to acknowledge from whence she hath her strength, and worldly glory.

(28 Jul. 1596.)

Your loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My humble dutie remembred unto your Honor, wheras the bearer hereof, Edward Rempton, a cittizen of good reputation and credit, and deputie of the Warde where he inhabiteth, had in his absence left at his howse with a servaunt of his certaine thinges inclosed in a bagge, which I have here sent

* Thomas Deloney, the celebrated ballad writer.

† In the Spanish expedition.

unto your Honor, together with his servant who received the same, which he did not think fitt to be concealed, but there-uppon brought them unto me, and made me pryvie of his mynde. I have now thought it not more then my dutie to sende them unto your Honor, and acquainte your Lordship thereof, expecting your further direction what course you will advise, either for the apprehension of the partie that left them at his howse or what further shall seem good unto your Lordship to be herein taken. And where before this tyme I did send your Honor, inclosed in a letter, two libells which were founde and presented unto me, and having at this instant two others, which have been lykewise founde dyspersed by some seditious person in this cittie, I thought it my dutie to send them herein inclosed unto your Honor. And thus referring the matter to your Honor's further consideration, I humbly take my leave. London, this 26th of September, 1596.

Your Honor's at commaund,

STEPHEN SLANY, Mayor.

LORD BURGHELEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I neither can myself write, nor yet forbear to expresse the grief I have to thinke of the dangerous estate of her Majestie's armie in Ireland, where all the treasure sent in August is expended, and the armie, consisting of the number of about seven thousand, receiving pay of her Majesty, besides a great number of others, having extraordinary payments by way of pensions and such like, the monethly charge wherof cometh to eight thousand five hundred and sixty pounds sterling, and thereunto is to be added one thousand newe men, now lately transported, whose monethly pay must come to one thousand one hundred and sixty-five pounds, and with the extraordinaries the charges will presently be ten thousand four hundred and twenty-two pounds the moneth, for which the treasurer hath never a penny in Ire-

land, and now to this charge doth presently follow the charge of two thousand new men already levied and appointed to be sent thither, for whom, at their arrival there, there is also no monie to entertaine them. What danger this may be I do tremble to utter, considering they will force the countrie with all manner of oppressions, rather than furnish, and thereby the multitude of the Quene's loyall subjects in the English pale tempted to rebell.

These unpleasant lines I am most sorrie to be presented to her Majesty, but I cannot endure to bethink myself of the perill. From my howse in the Strand, this last of October, 1596.

I am *homo illiteratus*,

W. BURGHLEY.*

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I was first advertised this evening by my Lord Chamberlain's letter, that her Majesty differed her remove unto Wednesday, which is the very daye of her access to the Crown, being right sorry for the cause. And therefore I pray you when tyme may serve you, lett her Majesty know that I do send to heare of her Majesty's amendment, for by her impediment to order her affayres, all her realm shall suffer detriment.

I have not bene idle since you went, having (though not profaned this Sabbath-day) made it a full working day, such is the importunity of sutors, and now wearyed I end my scribbling. 14th Nov., at night.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

* The signature, as is often the case in these latter letters of Lord Burghley, is written with a trembling hand.

ANTHONY BACON TO DR. HAWKINS.

Sir, As my last week's intermission was for wante of acceptable matter generall or particular worthy the sending so farre, so was I resolved to have continued my silence so longe as my Lorde* continued his absence from courte, and had so done if I were not more than in hope that this day shall be the last daye of the eclipse, and that the beames of his Lordship's virtue, fame, and meritt can be no longer shadowed by malice and envie which you know reign in courts, not doubting but that ere 24 houres passe he shall be Lord High Marshall of England, and have a royall recorde of his peereless prowess and deserts. * * Mons. de Meze, who was ambassador there for the French King, is arrived here very honorably accompanied, to impart unto her Majestie how far the King his master hath proceeded in the overtures of peace betwixt him and Spaine, and to receive her princely advice.

* * * * *

From Essex House, this 26th of November, (1596.)

Your entire assured frend to use,

ANTH. BACON.

THE EARL OF CLANRICARDE† TO THE LORD DEPUTY.

My verie good Lord, may it please your Lordship to be advertised that this 15th of January, Hugh Roe O'Donell, Tybott Bourke, McWalter Kytagh, with many other of their adherents of Ulster, and of this province, came into this countie of Clanricard, with three thousand foote and two hundred horse, and burned and spoyled there half of the countrie, and assaulted divers castles therin, but won none of any account as yet, and divers of their men were kild and hurte aboute the castles. They have entred Athenrie, where

• Of Essex.

† Ulick de Burgh, third Earl of Clanricarde.

they encamped the last night; whether they gott the castle or not is more then I yet heare. They report that they will remaine in Clanricard untill after Shrovetide, which they may well performe, if forces be not sent presently by your Lordship, to resist their violence. The poore countrie is so ruinated and brought to such desolation that now they know not how to lyve for want of reliefe. Th'enemies do bragge that they will lay siege to my own howses, which I hope shall be to little effect, although I doubt divers other holds in the countrie may be lost for want of reliefe. Doubtless they will not leave any corne or cottage unburnt in three daies within the whole countrie, the which we beare, and God willing will most contentedly, in respect that we sustaine the same for our daily servise and due obedience to our naturall and most gracious Princess, from whom we will never swerve for any losses or afflictions whatsoever. I have sent to my Lord Thomond for his ayde, whose coming I expect dayly, although not yet come. But God knoweth, our forces both are nothing in respect of theirs, but God willing, our best endeavours shall not want, and still as occasion shall be ministered your Lordship shall be advertised therof, which in the meanetime I leave to your Lordship's careful and most honorable consideration, and humbly take my leave. From Lough-Reogh, the 15th of January, 1596.

Your Lordship's most humble at commaund,

CLANRICARD.

THE MAYOR OF GALWAY TO THE LORD DEPUTY.

My most humble dutie remembred, may it please your Lordship, Hugh Roe O'Donell, and other the rebells of Tyreconell, coming of late to this province of Connaght, assembled with them Tibbott Mac Walter Kittagh Bourke, whom he made Mac William, with all the rebells and runagates of Connaght, wasted, burned, destroyed this last weeke almost this whole countie of Gallway, wherin on Saturdaie last they

H H 2

sallied and then burnt the gates therof, and having entred the same, after contynuing there the night, in the morning sallying the castell there, and being withstood, tooke all the wall towers, and as many of the inhabitants as warded them they withhold prisoners, and put to ashes all the rest of the towne, besides the said castell, that resisted them, and the bodies of the Abbay and Church. And then afterwards, uppon Sondaie last, at twilight, came to our suburbs, and sent a priest and another layman to our gates, then being shutt, offering that they would do us no harme if we should relieve them with wine and other necessaries, to which we aunswered for that night, that we mistrusted O'Donell himself was so nigh, and if he was, our auncient custome hath beene not to open our gates at night for any affaires, with which the messengers departing, the next morning O'Donell sent a letter under his own hand, praying to send him vittles and other necessaries for his money, except powder and munition, otherwise he should annoy us the best he could, whom we aunswered he did but pick a quarrell, for he and the rest of his adherents, breaking their allegiance to their naturall Prince, destroying townes, countrie, and goods of her Majestie's loyal subjectes, that unless they would convert to goodnes to God, their prince, and neighbours, we would not afford them no relief. Upon returne of which answer he stayed our messenger, till he caused divers houses of our suburbs to be fired, and the wind being at east-north-east, right against that side of our towne, hindred us muche in not discovering th'enemies till the flame was up, and then, O'Donell, Tibbot Bourke, MacWilliam, Mac Dermot, and all the cheiftaines that were with them, began to retire, and sent some loose shott to plaie uppon our towne, and being confronted with like loose shott, as th'enemies thronged on this side of the hill, a greate piece of ordinance was by us discharged, which scattered them, and clustering againe, another greater piece was lett flie, which utterly danted them, that they retired so farr that our loose shott gained the height of the ridge of

the hill, and saved the howses that were not burnt; and we heare the rebells had there wounded and killed some six persons, and that night camping in the farthest part of our franchise, sent some bands to fire the howses that before were rescued from them. But before that afternoone we discovered them, so that, saving one howse lying beyond the greene, they missed of their purpose, and the daie following they burnt every villadge downe to the countie of Maio, and ranged verie wide, even to the poole of Loghcoirbe, to leave nothing undestroyed, amongst which about twentie villadges apertayning to us were not pretermitted. Their speeches, as we understood them, were very blasphemous against us, and all the rest of her Majestie's constant subjects, threatening that they shall be shortly worse used by the Spaniards, then the poore inhabitants of Athenrie hath been used by them, whom they left mother naked, without howse or any whit in the world to live on.

And thus, &c. Gallwaie, the 19th of Januarie, 1596.

Your Lordship's most humble at commaund,
OLIVER OGE FRENCH, *Maior*.

As the rebells were in Athenrie, they of the Castle sent by night one to me for powder and lead, which the same night came from me to them.

SIR RICHARD BINGHAM TO SIR ROBERT GARDINER.

Good Sir Robert, I have receaved from my honorable good frends and others, letters, whereby I finde howe you have most frendlie and faythfully used many good offices of me, which I do in all thankfulness reeste to acknowledge, and to my beste parte I will never be unmindfull to deserve, beseeching you as often as you shall find fit occasion to sollicit my estate to the higher powers, whereby they may be fullie possessed of the greate wronges offered me, as in some good

measure they have bene already by your good meanes.* I longe to be freed from these troubles, although I be left as a begger. For my employment in that kingdome, I am as you knowe, the moste unfyttest man therefor that liveth, having bene so mightelie disgraced as I have bene, and therefore do not desire any employment there, onlie I crave a due hearing of my causes, and after to be disposed of as shall seeme beste to her Majestie, for obedience is better then sacrifice. In my laste letter to you, I writt the causes that stirred the people to rebell; and nowe I will acquaint you with the four journies that loste the lande, viz. the defeate of Sir Henrie Duke and Sir Edward Herbert, when they purposed to have victualled Eniskillin; secondlie, the journie to victuall Monaghan; thirdlie, the journie that the Lord Deputie and Sir John Norrise made to the Blacke Water; and fourthlie, Sir John Norrise's journie, when he proclaymed his auctoritie, for he was furnished to have gone through with the execution bothe with men, munitions, and pioneers, but he returned without doing any service worthie acceptaunce. These journies enhaused the rebells' pryde, furnished them with habilements of warr, which our men loste, and made them stande upon such demaundes as were never heard of since the conquest of that realme; and therefore I thinke it verie strange that I shoulde be left in Ireland to do service. Persons that must do greate services, must be such as are in greate favour of the Prince, as I have often tolde you, and must be allowed all good meanes therefor, as Sir John Norrise hath bene, for myself have bene kepte under by all hard and unusuall meanes by all the Deputies. But the same proceeded from England. But if it please God that I returne back to London from Ireland, I shall be more poorer and in worse estate then I was when I firste wente into Ire-

* Sir Richard Bingham fell into disgrace on accusations brough against him of too great severity and misbehaviour in his government of Connaught, and he was on this charge recalled from Ireland, and committed to custody.

land. Thus alwaies resting to praie for your good successe in all thinges, with my moste hartie commendations to your owne self, I betake you to the tuition of the Almightye. From Bewmares, the 20th of January, 1596. I putt to sea in hope to have gone to Dublin, but by violence of contrarie windes with much paines reached this harborough, where I have fallen into relapse of sicknes more grievous then the former, so that I am constrained to remaine here a time for my recoverie, and will not put any more to sea till it shall please God to restore me to perfect healthe. My last over bouldnes in putting out had neere coste me my life. Your last letter of the 10th of this instant I have receaved, for which also I verie hartely thank you. So the Lord kepe you !

Your most fast and assured loving frend till death,

Ry. BINGHAM.

SIR R. BINGHAM TO SIR ROBERT GARDINER.

Good Sir, although I doubt not but you have the newes of Ireland daylie from the Lord Deputie and such others here as can far better deliver the same then myself, yet John Kinge, newly arriving here from thence, I could not omit to write to you somewhat of that which he brought, namely, how O'Donell with all his rabble, and the rebells of Conaught, have taken 8 thewins, spoyled and burned Clanricard, and laye before the howse of Loughreogh (where the Erle of Clanricard kept) at the coming thence of the laste advertisements, purposing further mischief, no doubt, before they wold disperse, for most of these which came in to Sir John Norrise were now revolted againe to O'Donell, and at the same tyme the O'Relies and others, to the number of 7 or 800, entered the towne of Kells three wayes, and set the greatest parte thereof on fire, Captayne Strete keeping onlie for his own securitie a few strengths in the towne, which cannot long hold oute if the rebells be not kept further of. And Faugh Mc Hugh is be-

come a captayne of 600 footmen, at the leaste, and 40 horsemen, readie uppon any opportunitie to playe his parte. So as Ardmagh is like to be victualled quietly now, for which purpose there was somewhat accorded at Dundalk, between Sir John Norrise and the Erle of Tirone, before John Kinge lefte Dublin. He findeth (I meane Tirone) that his fayre offers avaieth him often times, muche more then open warres, for whatsoever is promised, if it may be hurtfull to him and beneficiall for the State, it is never performed, and he knoweth by experience how to deale with us, expecting still greater advantages, and the foreign ayde which is surely promised him. Sir John Norrise was purposed to go no further then Dondalk upon his new agreement, but to sende some troupes to Ardmagh, for whose safety he had taken some assurance. The laste letters which Browne, the Lord Deputy's man, carryed over, imported for me no further then this, viz. that uppon my coming into Ireland I should be used as a commelade in the martiall cawses there, without any mention of any allowance or place in entertainment, or anything expressed for the altering of the course appointed for my triall at Athlone, so there is nothing gone over yet for my good. I perceive also that as the Lord Deputy cometh away, so Sir John Norrise shall be licenced to come over, and I rooned it might be thought fit, then, to admit myself to answer him before the Lords in England, that it might appeare to them what these fowle things are wherwith I am since charged. And so should I be rid of going backe into Ireland, if uppon hearing of the cawse there I might be able to justifie myself, as I no whit make doubt to do. Sir Conyers Clifarde contynueth still at Dublin, expecting to have 3000 men with him downe uppon the ending of the journey for Ardmagh, so as it may now appeare playnelie enough, it was not that Bingham's remove that would quiet Conaught, or any other alteration in government there, but rather the expelling of all the English, which is generally required throughout Ireland. But God doth knowe howe I have bene dealt withall. I con-

tynue here, yet not in case to put to sea againe, hoping still that tyme may work out somewhat for my good ; for, though going onwards worse and worse as they do, I would think they might look back uppon the wrong which they have done to me, and appointe some indifferent course agreable with my desire and justice, and not persecute me still in malice, as I feare they do.

I am thrust out of all, and yet they are not contented, but must ever expose me to a tryall which they knowe will cut my hearte, for Sir John Norrise is the most intollerablest man in his persecutions against me that ever was, although God is my witnes, I never gave him cause. And so wylling you all contentment, and never to feele these griefes which oppresse me, with all thankfull remembrance and most loving commendements, I commyt you to God. From my sick bed in Bewmarris, the 27th of January, 1596.

Your's in all assurance for ever,

RY. BINGHAM.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I perceive that her Majesty lyketh argumentations of profitt, by accepting of Quarle's offers, though hatched by Beachor. I will expedite the matter, when the parties shall come to me.

I pray you deliver this pacquet to my Lord of Essex, the labor wherof hath wearied my hand and my head, both unmete for any matter of weight.

If I can amend, which as yet I fynd no hope of, I will be there before your next working daye, but rather as a roge than a labourer.

15th Maii, 1597.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MICHAEL HICKS.

I would gladly have your company to-morrow by three of clock at furthest, for I must go to sup where you shall be welcome. And so I leave you this Sunday night, having sent you a piece of venison for your dynner, with commendations to Mrs. Hicks, in whom I envy your good fortune, but rest for all that,

Your loving frend,
Ro. CECILL.

If we sup late, you and I will lay at Cecill House.
July 4, 1597.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have read Sir An. Mildmay's* letter, which I do return with a weak hand, as you may see. Considering the charges past, which I shall accompt lost on her Majesty's part, and if her ayde be not contynued, the French Kyng may be ruined, and Pycardy possessed at her dores by an unplacable enemy, besides many other increase of his strength, and therefore the remedy being but a mony matter, and *pecuniam in loco negligere est lucrum*, I wish her Majesty wold without delay, whilst the French Kyng's irons are hotte, supply hym nowe for two or three months. And so for lack of a strong hand I end, wishing you God's grace to serve her Majesty, and my blessing to your comfort.

All your offspring are here merry.

From Theobald's, 4th July, 1597.

Your old loving father,
W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I do send you a letter herewith written to my Lord of Es-

* Sir Anthony Mildmay succeeded Sir Henry Unton as ambassador in France.

sex, to whom I did not write since his departure, nor untill now that God hath shewed him favor from heaven with the new moone to send him a prosperous wind. I could not write comfortably, neither for myself nor for him; and now I do write unto him with my weak hand only to congratulate with him for this favor of God, and do exhort him, as a Christian soldier, to acknowledge the same beyond all man's power and witt. I have also written unto him, that I am sure you will frequently advertise him of things convenient, to supply my want, remembering a true saying of Tully in these words, *omnibus peregrinantibus gratum est minimarum quoque rerum quæ domi geruntur, fieri certiores.** I pray you by the next safe messenger send this my letter to his Lordship, letting him know that I am here licensed for a while to be at my house, where I assure you I continue in such paine of my foote, at I am not able to stirre abroad but in my coach.

From my howse at Theballd's, the 5th of July, 1597.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHEY.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have with your letter wrytten yesterday received two letters to you, one from my Lord of Essex wrytten on Wednesday, since which tyme I have gladly observed every day a most favorable wynd to sett hym forward, so as God hath, like a gracious Father, after a few dayes frowning to make his power known, changed his countenance into blessing, whereby may be sayd to the army, *viriliter agite, et confortentur corda vestra, omnes sperantes in Dominum.*

Your other letter from Sir Anthony Mildmay with the copy

* The expedition against Spain was now setting out, in the course of which was first openly shown Essex's jealousy of Sir Walter Raleigh, who took by himself the town of Fayas.

of the French Kyng's letter to hym, can scantly have any good sense wheron to found any present counsell, for I see no lykelihood for the French Kyng to seek peace at this present when by all advertisement the Cardinall* as yet hath no mony to wage his men to come to the relief of Amyens, nor his new levyes as yet come out of Italy; which advises being true, I see no cause in necessitie either to offer or to hearken to peace. But yet it may be that the Pope and his legate and the cordelyar may tempt hym thereto, and the Kyng's discontented state may move hym to forget his honor. On the other side it may be suspected, that this chanting of peace is a song only to allure the Quene's Majesty to yield him still ayde of more men or mony, or both, wherin I can yield no other opinion, than that her Majesty should yield no more than good reason may warrant with conversation of her own estate, and so having warrant of a good conscience in that she hath or shall in her benefits strayne her own state, to become unable to preserve herself, having no hope nor apparance to be ayded by any other, as she hath ayded many. And though it may be feared that by the French Kyng's peace her enemy the Spanyard may become more to be feared, yet in God's goodness, whose cause her Majesty defendeth, she may say with David, *Exaltabo te, Domine, quoniam elevasti me, nec letificasti inimicos meos super me.* But you may say, my conceits are spirituall, and so ought all human actions to be governed. Thus to shew myself bold to arm, in an obscure subject, I will end with a very weary hand, untill I shall understand the event of Mr. Mildmay's journey. From my house at Thebald's, the rooms wherof I have not sene, more than my bedchamber, my dyning place, and my chappell, so lame I am on one leg, as Sir Edw. Hobby, I think, can shewe you, by whom I returned my most humble thanks to her Majesty, notifying to her, that where I spent at

* The Archduke of Austria. Amiens was taken by the French King, aided by the English auxiliaries, in the course of the summer, before the relief could be brought.

the court the substance of my poore wytt, I fynd no meanes here to restore it, being forced dayly to fede of an asse's milk, and so subject to be as dull as an ass.

From Thebald's, 8th July, 1597.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

My good Lord, by a letter of yours, written on Saturday, what hour I know not, your Lordship seemeth not to conceive what might be the reason that things runne on by us with so great silence, wherein that you may see the poor unfortunate Secretarie will leave no scruple in you, of lack of industry, to yield you all satisfaction, (whom it were inhumanitie to neglecte, the circumstances considered of your cares and toiles, which have much of their dependencie on the breath of this place.) I have thought good to yield you reason for all, by drawing you to make your own computations. Tyll Fryday in the morning, we heard nothing of your safe arrivall,* of which to tell you true, tyll I was well advertised, I tooke little pleasure to thinke of aunswering the remaine, but wished the action dissolved, and knewe, if you had perished, it hath bene a vanitie to have dreamed any further of ought els but passion here, and confusion there. And for good Mr. Raleigh, who wonders at his own diligence, (because diligence and he are not familiars,) it is true that on Wednesday night, I beeing at Greenwich, and the Quene at Mr. Walsingham's, his letter found me, which I imparted on Thursday as soone as the Quene was readie, unto her, and do confesse, that in expectation to heare of you, we did differ aunswer to you untill Fryday, of which day, I trust, divers dispatches are with you long before this tyme. Thus do you see that a man, whose fortunes scants him of meanes to do you service, will not beare coales to be accused of dulnes,

* They were driven by contrary winds to return to Plymouth.

especially by your Rere Admirall,* who making haste but once in a yeare to write in post, gave date from Waymouth to his last dispatche, which by the circumstances I knew was written at Plymouth.

But now, my Lord, after this long preface, lett me take a little tyme from you with that, which I assure you, would have pleased you, if you had been a beholder.

There arrived three daies since in the cittie an ambassador out of Poland, a gentleman of excellent fashion, witte, discourse, language, and person; the Quene was possessed by some of our new counsellours, that are as cunning in intelligence as in decyphering, that his negotiation tendeth to a proposition of peace. Her Majestie, in respect that his father the Duke of Finland had so much honored her, besydes the lyking she had of this gentleman's comeliness and qualities, brought to her by reporte, did resolve to receive him publicly, in the chamber of presence, where most of the erles and noblemen about the Court attended, and made it a great day. He was brought in attired in a longe robe of black velvett, well jewelled and buttoned, and came to kisse her Majestie's hands where she stood under the state, from whence he straight returned ten yards of, and then begun his oration aloude in Latin, with such a gallant countenance, as in my lyfe I never behelde. The effect of it was this, that "the King hath sent him to putt her Majestie in mynde of the auncient confederacies between the Kings of Poland and England; that never a monarche in Europe did willingly neglect their friendship, that he had ever frendly received her merchants and subjects of all quality, that she had suffered his to be spoyled without restitution, not for lacke of knowledge of the violences, but out of meere injustice, not caring to minister remedy, notwithstanding many particular petitions and letters received, and to confirme her disposition to avowe these courses (violating both the law of nature and

* Sir Walter Raleigh.

nations) because there were quarrells betweene her and the King of Spaine, she therefore tooke upon her, by mandate, to prohibite him and his countries, assuming therby to herself a superioritie (not tollerable) over other Princes, nor he determined to endure, but rather wished her to knowe, that if there were no more than the auncient amitie between Spain and him, it were no reason to look that his subjects should be impeded, much less now, when a stricte obligation of blood had so conjoined him with the illustrious howse of Austria;" concluding that if her Majestie would not reforme it, he would.

To this I swear by the living God, her Majestie made one of the best aunswers *extempore*, in Latin, that ever I heard, being much moved to be so challenged in publick, especially against her expectation. The wordes of her beginning were these, "*Expectavi legationem, mihi vero querelam adduxisti*. Is this the business your King has sent you about? surelie I can hardly believe, that if the King himself were present, he would have used such language, for if he should, I must have thought that his being a King of not many years, and that *non de jure sanguinis, sed jure electionis, imo noviter electus*, may leave him uninformed of that course which his father and auncestors have taken with us, and which, peradventure, shall be observed by those that shall come to live after him. And as for you" saith she to the ambassador, "although I perceave you have read many books, to fortifie your arguments in this case, yet I am apt to believe that you have not lighted upon the chapter that prescribeth the forme to be used between kings and princes; but were it not for the place you hold, to have so publickly an imputation throwne upon our justice, which as yet never failed, we would aunswer this audacitie of yours in another style; and for the particulars of your negotiations, we will appoint some of our counsell to conferre with you, to see upon what ground this clamor of yours hath his foundation,

who shewed yourself rather an heralde than an ambasador."

I assure your Lordship, though I am not apt to wonder, I must confesse before the living Lord that I never heard her (when I knew her spirits were in a passion) speake with better moderation in my lyfe.*

You will think it strange that I am thus idle, as to use another bodie's hand. I assure you I have hurte my thumb at this hour, and because the Quene tould me, she was sorry you heard not his Latin and hers, I promised her to make you partaker of as much as I could remember, being, as I knew, the worst you would expect from her, and yet the best could come from any other. If, therefore, this letter finde you, and that you write backe before your going, I pray you to take notice that you were pleased to heare of her wise and eloquent aunswer.

I am half ashamed to take this much tyme from you, but when I hope it shall be the last which shall come to you before you go out of England, I am contented in this to be censured idle, though in all things els upon the face of the earth I will be founde,

Your faithful and affectionate poore frende, to do you service.†

I feare nothing, but your Lordship will speed the worse for having some of those in your companie that have robbed the Dantsickers and many other merchantes, *exempli gratia*, the Capten of the Warspight, for whom I have laied out 50*l*. for the Rowbuck, for which I will stay some of his billetts

* It was on this occasion that the Queen, after her speech, turning to her court, exclaimed, "God's death! my Lords, (for that was her oath ever in anger,) I have been enforced this day to scour up my old Latin, that hath lain long in rusting!"

† The signature is cut off.

and canarie wine, that he hath sent for out of my sellar at Chelsey.

From the Court at Greenwich, the 26th of July, 1597.

SIR H. MAYNARD TO MICHAEL HICKES.

Mr. Michaell, your late entertainment was such to myself, as that on Thursdaie night you are like to be troubled with my wife and her broode, for so did I tell her it was your's and Mrs. Hickes' desire. If I had anie good conveyance for myself, I might, peradventure, be with you at that time, but thereof I can make no promise. My Lord is here full of the gowte, and is much troubled and busied with this Polish busines. The whole fleete is returned to Plymouthe and the western partes, and all the great ones well: of Cavalier Beeston we heare not a worde. Commend me to good Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Lowe, and the rest. In 'great hast. From the Court, the second of August, 1597.

Yours most assuredly,

H. MAYNARD.

SIR H. MAYNARD TO MICHAEL HICKES.

Mr. Michael, I knowe not where to beginne to thanke you for your late and manie kindnesses, but wish that my wife might get you and Mrs. Hicks at Eston, to make you some part of amendes, as our poore countrie will afford.

This Polach has so troubled us here, as no daie hath escaped my Lord from writing something for his dispatche, and this evening it is ingrossed to be signed, whereby I hope my Lord may take some ease, to gett him owt of his chamber, where he hath remained, and for the most part in his bed, this whole fortnight that he hath been here. I will do the best I can in these two petitions which you have sent me,

but this daie I could offer neither. I perceive that about the middel of the next weeke you will be readie to come hither, and by that time the Quene meaneth to be with you, if the jestes hold, which after manie alterations is sett downe this daie to be with you on Wednesdaie night, to staie there all Thursdaie, on Fridaie to dine with Mr. Knivetts, and so to Haveringe to bed. If anie alteration shall happen, as I hope there will, (for we are greatly afeard of Theobalde's,) you shall heare thereof.

This afternoone it is here reported that Sir C. Clifford should be deadlie wounded in a fraie, but by whom or in what sort I knowe not, which I doubt not you have heard.

Yesterdaie my Lord received letters from the Lord Chauncellor of Ireland, who certifieth that the Erle of Kildare was dead of a flix, and a bruise he had in the late service: and beside the Bishop of Pawghlin, who was here in trouble for Sir John Perrott's cause, and Sir Robert Dillon, the chief justice of the Common-Pleas, are both dead. From the fleete we heare nothing since the Erle's departure. And so praying you to remember my most kind commendations to Mrs. Hicks, I take my leave. In hast, from the Court, this 10th of August, 1597.

Your most assured frend and fellowe,

H. MAYNARD.

SIR H. MAYNARD TO MICHAEL HICKES.

Mr. Hicks, there is no alteration as yet in the progresse,* nor no conceit that it will change. This morning I was with my Lord Chamberlaine about some other busines from my Lord, who, as it seemeth, had expected your coming to him. I told him you had been here yesterdaie, and that Mr. Bowes

* The Queen this summer visited the house of Mr. Hickes, at Ruckholt. Ellis has printed a curious letter relating to her reception there.

appointed to be with you this morning, who would report to his Lordship at his returne the state of your howse and lodgings. Some speeche he had with me touching your howse; saying that he understood that it was scant of lodgings and offices: whereuppon I took occasion to tell his Lordship that it was true, and I conceived that it did trouble you, that you had no convenient place to entertaine some of her Majestie's necessary servaunts. His aunswer was, that you were unwise to be at any such charge, but onlie to leave the howse to the Quene: and wished that there might be presented to her Majestie from your wife, some fine wastcoat or fine ruffe, or like thinge, which he said would be as acceptably taken as if it were of great price. He said that two daies since, uppon speeche of your howse, and of your marriage, the Quene fell into an exceeding commendation of Mr. Parais, as that she never had such a merchant in her kingdome; wheruppon his Lordship saith, that himself and others standing by gave the like commendations to her of your wife. It seemeth that the time will be two nights, as was first appointed; and though no speeche be therof, he verily thinketh that she will come to Theobalde's, though she should remaine there but three or four daies. It were a pitie at this time to trouble you with any other matter, otherwise I should let you knowe, that, as the messenger saith that is this morning come with letters from Sir Ed. Norris, though not yet opened, the Counte Maurice hath taken Berk. And so untill a further occasion, I will leave otherwise to trouble you, than with my hartiest commendations to Mrs. Hicks. From the Court, this 20th of August, 1597.

Yours most assuredly,

H. MAYNARD.

LORD BURGHEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I do send here included four letters, three of myne own hand, wherof two to my Lady of Derby, that thus Φ marked

she may have openly, the other privately to her own hands. The third letter is to the Erle of Comberland, only for compliment and thanks. The fourth is to Sir Edward Phytton, of thanks both to hym and my Lady his wife. These I had made ready before your messenger came.

I thank you for your honest report of my paynes, which in truth, by the weakness of my hand, are more grievous to me than the like were in former tymes.

Sir Edm. Care dyning with me this day, reported the accidents of yesterdays skyrnish in the Kayle (?) I looked to have had the last letter from Ireland, from whence I look not for such success as was pretended.

The warrant for apparell for Ireland wold be sent. I think it shall not be nedefull to send any letters into Wales, where I think the dearth groweth not by engrossers.

To-morrow I shall have here all my kynred within five or six myles compass, with all their messes, &c.

24th August, 1597.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have received from you the Deputie's letter directed to yourself, with the other writing therewith sent, and likewise Sir Arthur Savage's letter, all which I do return unto you, allowing greatly the Deputie's resolute manner of writing, and especially his imperious answer to the rebell Tyrone. The sum you send me, the warrant for Ireland, and the other also for Barwick, it shall much content me, for both these hold the Quene's service in suspence, untill by those warrants I may procede. And so I end.

From my howse at Theobald's, the 25th of August, 1597,

where I had at dynner of old and yong, 14 descended of my body.

Your loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since my last writing to you, I am more unable to write than then I was, and therefore am forced to use another man's hand, and so I pray you let her Majesty understand for my reasonable excuse. By your letter, I understand that her Majesty would have me with my presence to advise how to answer this Danishe ambassage, for which purpose she would have me come to London, where she hath appointed my Lord Keper, my Lord of Buckhurst, and Sir John Forrester, to joine with me, and to consider what were fitt to be sayd to them in answer, and therof her Majesty being first advertised, so her Majesty to allow or disallow as shall please her, and theruppon consequently to give them an answer at my howse. I have considered of their demands propounded, wherof the principall matter, tending to a mediation for peace, requireth many circumstances of weight beyond my ability to resolve thereon. The other matter being a demand of free traffick and navigations upon the sea, I think cannot be more reasonably answered than was answered to the Polishe ambassador, although I see by the Danishe ambassador they temper their request with a modification. Thus you see how doubtfull I am in these two greate matters. But yet her Majesty joining me with other great counsellors, it may be by their advise I may have some clearer understanding. Though my body be this very daye at the period of three score and seventene yeares, and therefore far unable to travayle either with my body or with lively spiritts, yet I fynd myself so bound with the superabundant kyndness of her Ma-

jesty in dispensing with my disabilities, as, God permitting me, I will be at Westminster to-morrow in the afternoone, ready to attend the Lords. 13 Sept. *sol in libra*.

Your old loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My humble duty remembred to your Lordship, this morning at six o'clock, I receaved your Lordship's pacquet, with Chas. Pagett's letter inclosed, which I have read, but dare not ground anything uppon it. I do also find that it pleased God to direct your Lordship's hand to straine your body in my absence to do that which I shold do if I were there, besides your Lordship's owne other great dispatches. I am also thus divided between comfort in your favour and feare of overthrowing your Lordship's health; yet I do quiet my heart with hope in God's providence, that he will sett back your aged body, and by degrees, as it is overgrown, the vigour and strength of mind out of whose treasures many yonger witts may dayly be fed and instructed. I have likewise taken notice where your Lordship directed me, of the Erl's favourable concurrence with your Lordship in all things concerning me, and his dealing with myself in making these my dispatches.

I am half of opinion that this new armament will divert the French King back to, except an agreement be made between them in his absence; but the weakness of Britain the abandoning of it in making such a pacification between the two Kings or dist the Spanyards of Mercury. We shall heare to night whether any of the rereguard of the fleet can be light on, who were now as much beholding to the outrageous storm as hereto they have bene in the contrary.

And thus never more weary of attending on an inconstant

element, I most humbly take my leave. From Dover, newly returned from the Downes, from whence all the shippes are gone over to the French coast.

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient sonn,

RO. CECYLL.

This Thursday, the 16th, at one of the clock. (Dover February 16, 1597.)

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I see you continue your care for me, for which I thank you. I took not your howse, for that it was too near the breathing of Westminster, nor Wymbelton, because of the discommodities in passing the river, but came hither to my familiar place, although forced to seke a resting-place, but without rest.

As yet I can recover my appetite, only I supped yesternight with four or five leaves of an artychock, but this morning I have eaten a small panado.

And so I will prove all good meanes either to amend, or to make a good end. 9 Jun. 1598.

Your best loving father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

* * * * *

I pray you to present my humble thanks to her Majesty for her frequent messages, for which I knowlledg my dett greater than I am able to requite, but yet I will gage my heart to be thankfull with prayer.

From my howse at Theobald's, this 11th of June, 1598.

Your loving sick father,

W. BURGHLEY.

LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.*

Though I know you count it your duty in nature so continually to shew you carefull of my state of health, yet were I also unnatural, if I should not take comfort thereby, and to beseke Almighty God to bless you with supply of such blessings as I cannot in this infirmytie yield you.

Only I pray you dilligently and effectually, let her Majesty understand how her singular kyndness doth overcome my power to acquit it, who though she will not be a mother, yet she sheweth herself by feding me with her own princely hand, as a careful norse, and if I may be weaned to fede myself, I shall be more ready to serve her on the earth, if not, I hope to be in heaven a servitor for her and God's church.

And so I thank you for your partriches.

10 July, 1598.

Your languishing father,

W. BURGHLEY.

Serve God by serving of the Quene, for all other service is indede bondage to the devill.

SIR ROBERT WROTH† TO MR. HICKES.

My good friend, Saint Michael, I have expected and have been in good hope that we should have met some time this summer, and to have bene merry together. The time draweth very neere out for sport in hunting, if therefore I might intreat you and your wife, with Mr. Alderman Loe and his wife, your brother Colston and his wife, and any other good com-

* This is the last letter that Lord Burghley ever wrote with his own hand. The old and faithful minister died on the fourth of August following.

† Sir Robert Wroth, of Durance in Essex, who had large possessions in the hundred of Ongar.

LORD BURGHLEY'S LAST AUTOGRAPH LETTER.

MS

Thomas I know you can't it your duty, in nature & continually, to know you careful of my state of health, yet was I able to write, if I should not take comfort thereby, and to keep company with to keep you in supply of good letters, as I cannot in this infirmity give you only I pray your diligence and effectually, God his may understand how his humble servant's duty.

pany whomsoever you will bring or appoint, I shall be most glad therat, and you shall be most welcome as to your owne howse, with all the rest, and in anywise you must determine to lodge with me one night at the least, and that of your coming, I desire it may be uppon Tuesday morning next, and to meet about Fairmead, where I will appoint to hunt and to make the gentlewomen some sport, with Mr. Colston's houndes and mine. And so earnestly desiring' you not to fail herein, and to send me word of your determination, and to be very earnest with Mr. Alderman Loe to have his companie and his wive's, I will bid you farewell. Lucton, this 9th of September, 1600.

Your assured friend,
ROBERT WROTTE.

If the gentlewomen cannot be stirring so soon, appoint to come to dinner upon Thursday, and in the afternoone we will find some sport at bowles or otherwise, and therefore bring your bowles with you for yourself and your other company, among whom I pray forget not to bring with you your brother Baptist.

I send herewith some apriocks to your good wife. I wolde they were as good as I could wishe them, but this year they are not kindly as they have been.

SIR ROBERT WROTH TO MICHAEL HICKES.

Sir, the long expectation of your good company caused me to write unto you as I did, and desyred the time approaching so neare as it is. But whereas you write unto me that you wil be with me uppon Monday next at dinner, I am very sorry that it so falleth out that I am to be at a determined feast the same daye, yearly made by my cosin John Barfoote at his house, for the hunters, chiefly appoynted for my sake, as one of the unthriftiest in these pastymes, and the ending of hunting is appoynted in these partes, and not in Fairmeade.

Whither if it please to come with Mr. Ralph Colston, and his merry dogges, very early in the morninge; I will make you the best sport I can. And for the gentlewomen, because I doubt of their rising so soone, if they will come to Lucton in the afternoone to sup, they shal be most hartily welcome. Yet to deale playnely with you, I must be at Dunmoe uppon Wednesday next, about the commysion of the statute concerning charytable uses; and therefore if you will defer it untill Monday come se'nnight, either dinner or supper, I will be ready to bowle or to do any other pastyme with you, only the assaye, I will leave it to yourself, although your dayly say is better then I thinke you can well provide unto you, and therefore I would advise you to keepe you when you are well, and although the male kynd of venyson groweth something ranke and stronge, I will provide for you the sweete female kinde. And so prest to do unto you all the kindnes I can, expecting your aunswer therein, for otherwise where I dine I am to sup, I will bid you farewell, with my commendations to your good wife. Lucton, this 13th of September, 1600.

Your assured friende,

ROBERT WROTHE.

Mr. Jackman especially, and any other company that shall come with you, shall be most welcome, and in any wise if you can let me have the company of good Mr. Alderman Loe.

SIR HENRY DANVERS TO MR. ATE.*

Sir,—Now in hast, and never no good penman, I have sent you my book, which you must piece and feather. The unfitt

* During the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, by the jealousies and mismanagement of her officers in that country, the increasing turbulence of Tyrone and his companions in rebellion, and the intrigues of the Spaniards and foreign Catholics, Ireland was brought to a sate of distraction. In spite of the different successes of the

or improbable you must blott out or reconcile, as I have omitted many circumstance opposite to other relations. The Englishe you must amend in all, and then if of one line you can make use, I shall thinke my labour well bestowed. Though I will rather referr you to the cross in the margent correspondent with the cross in the line, then write it out this night agayne for a million; having bene till within this hour ever in company, as Sir Oliver St. John can witnes, who will be with you to-morrow morning. You have practised many ill handes, and whether you can or cannot reade it yourself, I praye let nobody els. Commend me to my cosen, and believe I do desire to be esteemed,

Your very assured loving cosen and frend,

H. DANVERS.

Somerset Howse, this Souday night, late.

Tirrell discovering the Marshall and Sir H. Danvers to be advanced with all the horse, and Sir H. Poore with his regiment, retired some few troupes he had advanced againe to his bodyes beyonde the forde. Presently the Marshall sent the Lord Deputy word that the enemy rettyred in some disorder.

English troops, as fast as the rebellion of the Catholics was crushed in one point, it broke out with increasing violence in another. At length, in 1601, the rebels were assisted openly by Spain with a considerable force, the greater part of which established itself in Kinsale, to which the Deputy laid siege. The Irish rebels under Tyrone, with the Spaniards who had landed on other parts of the coast, made an attempt to raise the siege, which ended in the battle which Sir Henry Danvers, himself a principal actor in it, relates in this letter. The victory was very decisive, and the Irish chieftains fled in all directions. "The Lord Deputy," says Camden, "having commanded the retreat to be sounded, and given thanks to God among the heaps of dead carcasses, knighted the Earl of Clanrickarde for his most valiant service, and returned a conqueror to the camp, with joyfull shouts and acclamations." The Spaniards in Kinsale soon afterwards surrendered the place on a composition. The battle of Kinsale contributed greatly towards restoring at least a temporary quietness to Ireland.

Wherupon his Lordship came into the head of all, but before he could give any perfect direction, a violent storme, during some quarter of an hower, gave the enemye opportunity, not now perfectly discovered, to draw off over a playn, in three great bodyes of foote, and all their horse in the reare, with their winges advanced in the heade of all. But the day clearing, and discovering by their manner of march an intent to retire, the Lord Deputy resolved to followe and take the advantage to fight with an enemy drawing off. But being advanced some mile farther, we might perceive the enemyes three bodyes to stand firme upon a forde of a bogge, that to assaile them we must of necessity pass, and in all appearance with a resolution to fight.* Now the Marshall, a littell advanced, discovered a ford, a muskett-shott on the left hand, happily neglected by their foote, and only garded with their horse, sent unto the Lord Deputie for leave to force them that way, which his Lordship approved, and commanded to draw up the foote with all expedition. Their first winges once arrived, seconded by Sir H. Poore's regiment, the Marshall with the Earle of Clanricard, ever urging to fight, passed over, and together with Sir Richard Greemes, offred a chardg upon one of their bodyes, but finding them to stande firme, wheeled a littell about. Upon which the Lord Deputie sent over Sir William Godolphin with his company, and Captayn Minshew with the Lord President's company, who were appoynted to keep still a gross in the reare, to answer all accidents, and Sir John Barceley, with two of our three bodyes of foote. Whereupon the Marshall and the Earle of Clanricard united themselves with Sir H. Danvers, Lord Taffe, and Lord Flemminge, charged agayne the horse and the rear of the same battell, who presently therupon, both horse and foote, fell into disorder and brake. All this while the vanguard of the enemy, in which was Tirrell and the Spaniards, stooode firme upon the bogge on

* "They mayntained a little skirmish on our side the bogge, but were easily beaten backe to their bodyes."

the right hand, unto whom within cannon shott the Lord Deputie had drawen up our reare, Sir Oliver St. John's regiment, commanded by C. Roe. But seeing Tirrell and the Spaniards drawing between our men on the execution and the bodyes of foote, his Lordship having hitherto, by direction, sett all other men's swordes aworke, himself in the head of the rear regiment charged the enemy in flancke, and put them into a disorderly retreat after their fellowes to the toppe of the next hill.

JOHN DAVIS TO SIR ROBERT COTTON.

Sweet Robin, for a few sweet words, a client of mine hath presented me with sweet-meates, to what end I know not, except it be as Chaucer speakes, "To make mine English sweet uppon my tongue," that I may pleade the better for him to-morrow at the Seale. Notwithstanding, the best use I can make of it, is to present you with it, especially at this time when you are in physick, that you may sweeten your taste after the rhewbarb. I have been so utterly distracted with unexpected business these two or three last dayes, that I could not performe my officious promise to visit you in this voluntary sickness of yours. Now I am faine to make my hands excuse my feet from travayling unto you, because being the servant of the multitude, I am not mine own man. Make much of yourself, and make yourself speedily well, that I may have your company towards Cambridge, from whence I will go with you to see the ancient seat of Robert le Bruis.* So wishing you a prosperous operation of your physick, at least that you may imagine so, for it is the imagination that doth good, and not the physick, which I ever thought a mere imposture, I cease to trouble you, least the intention of too much reading hinder the working of these virtuous drugs.

Yours all and ever,

DAVIS.

* A pun on Cotton's name—Sir Robert Bruce Cotton.

WILLIAM CAMDEN TO SIR ROBERT COTTON.

Pardon me, my good Mr. Cotton, if I do not now preface it. I knowe you are (as we all have been) in a melancholy and pensive cogitation. This *ἀννία*, or excessive sleepless indisposition of her Majestie is now ceased, which being joined with an inflammation from the breast upward, and her mind altogether averted from physic in this her climactericall year, did more than terrify us all, especially the last Friday in the morning, which moved the Lords of the council, when they had providently caused all the vagrants here about to be taken up and shipped for the Low Countries, to draw some munition to the Court, and the great horse from Reading to guard the Receipt at Westminster; to take order for the navy to lye in the narrow seas; and to commit some gentlemen hunger-starved for innovations, as Sir Edm. Bainham,* Catesby,† Tresham,‡ two Wrights,§ &c. and afterwards the Counte Arundell of Warder, || to a gentleman's house, for speech used by the foresayd turbulent spirites, as concerning him, or for that he made lately some provision of armour.

This I thought good in generality to impart unto you, that you may (as we do) put away fear, and thank God for this joyful recovery of her, upon whose health and safety we all depend. *Vale prospere*, 15 Martii. (1602.)¶

Your Worship's assured,

GUIL. CAMDEN.

* He appears to have been privy to the gunpowder plot.—See Winwood's Mem. vol. ii. p. 205.

† Robert Catesby, principall in that plot. and killed in resisting the sheriff of Staffordshire.

‡ Francis Tresham, Esq., the same traitor who died in the Tower.

§ Probably John and Christopher Wright, who were agents in the plot above mentioned.

|| Thomas Arundel, advanced by the Emperor Rodolph II., in 1595, to the honour of Count of the Empire, and in May, 1605, by King James I., to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, under the title of Lord Arundel of Wardour. He died in 1609.

¶ Queen Elizabeth died on the 24th March, 1602-3.

MR. SIMON THELWAL TO MR. DUNN, DEAN OF THE ARCHES,
AT BREMEN, IN GERMANY.

My humble duty unto your Worship remembered, the Earl of Hertford is come to London, and it is spoken, that the King is at York at this time; and all men are well satisfied, and the realm is as quiet and peaceable as ever it was, and great hope of a flourishing time. There is very great preparations made and making for the Queen's Majesty's funeral, which is appointed to be performed on Thursday in Easter week next; and very shortly after the King's Majesty will come to London.

Mr. Dr. Cæsar and Mr. Wilbraham had, by the appointment of the Lords, set down a day to take their journey towards the King's Majesty. But Mr. Wilbraham has, it seemeth, fearing to lose his place, took post-horses, and went the day before their appointment; and he did send Mr. Dr. Cæsar word thereof two hours after he went out of the town.

Yesterday Mr. Secretary Cecille took his journey towards his Majesty. Here is old posting now. The Lord Cobham is, as I understand, lately returned from his Majesty discontented.

The King hath discharged the Earle of Southampton and Sir Henry Nevell; and they are appointed to come to him with the rest of the Lords, when they go to meet him.

Here is great dearth of silks and velvets at this time.

* * * * *

The King hath signified unto the Lords, that his pleasure was, that the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, and the Lord Montjoy, and the Lord Thomas Howard, should be of his Privy Council. London, the 16th of April, 1603.

Your Worship's evermore most bounden,

SIMON THELWAL.

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Handwritten text, possibly a signature or a list of names, appearing in the upper right quadrant of the page. The text is faint and difficult to decipher.

